THE UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS
LIBRARY
289.605
FR
v. 19 –20

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2021 with funding from
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

https://archive.org/details/journaloffriends1920unse

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A.

VOLUME XIX

1922

London

THE FRIENDS' BOOKSHOP, 140 Bishopsgate, E.C.2

American Agents

FRIENDS BOOK AND TRACT COMMITTEE

144 East 20th Street, New York, N.Y.

GRACE. W. BLAIR, Media, Pa.

HEADLEY BROTHERS

PRINTERS

18 DEVONSHIRE STREET, E.C.; AND ASHFORD, KENT

289.605
FR
v. 19-20

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF ILL
URBANA

Contents

	PAGE
Our Quotation—9-11	1, 65, 129
Scenes in the Separation of 1828	1
Philip E. Thomas and the B. and O.	11
A Pennsylvanian Loyalist's Interview with George III	12
Prohibition in America	16
The Case of William Batkin	17
The Convincement of John Coughen, 1663	22
John Reckless, of Nottingham, and his Sons ..	24
The History of "The Story of Carazan, the Merchant of Bagdad"	25
Anecdotes of William Penn	31
Obituary—Joseph Joshua Green	32
Do. William C. Braithwaite	87
William Allen's Third Marriage	33
Friends' Relief Work	36
Treffry, of Devon and Cornwall	37
Friends and Current Literature	42, 110
Recent Accessions to D	47, 119
Samuel Emlen	48
Leading the Way	49, 129
Faith Healing the Sick	58
Edward Haistwell's Diary of the Travels of George Fox, 1677, 1678	59
"Buried like a Dog"	62
Notes and Queries	63, 136
The First Publishers of Truth, A Study. *Ernest E. Taylor*	66
Ministry in Metaphor	82
On Behalf of the King, 1745	83
Jacob and James, or Strength in Weakness ..	88
Changed Letters, an Anecdote of Stanley Pumphrey	90
The Journal of a Self-Observer	91
L. M. Hoag on the Death of his Wife	94
Daniel Ricketson (1813-1898)	95
"Friends Keepe the Ancient Principles of Truth" ..	97
The Beard a Bar to the Ministry	98
Books Wanted	100

665028

PAGE

George Fox's Leather Suit. *A. Neave Brayshaw* .. 101
The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox" 102
The Rowntree History 104
The Journal of William Robson (1797-1881) .. 105
John de Marsillac 107
Thomas Wells (1799-1879) 108
Rachel Wilson and George Whitefield 109
The Power of the Press 109
Concerning the Supplements 124
"The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell, of Swarthmoor Hall" 124
J. J. Green Collection in D 126
Accounts for the Year 1921 128
Index 140

Vol. XIX. No. 1 1922

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editor: NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A.
Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2

For Table of Contents see page two of cover

Our Quotation—9

"Obsessions about superiority and inferiority sink away from a man who is engrossed in work."

RUTH MURRAY UNDERHILL, *The White Moth* (a novel), 1920, p. 283.

Scenes in the Separation of 1828

A MANUSCRIPT has recently been presented to **D** by Mary Hannah Foster, of Scarborough, consisting of a copy of letters from William Procter, of Baltimore, to his relations in England, written in 1828, describing events connected with the Separations of that year in the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, New York, and Ohio.

The letters are written from the standpoint of an " Orthodox " Friend.

Baltimore, 5 month 1828

My Dear Brother & Sister

PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING

Presuming it would be interesting to you to be furnished with a little Sketch of occurrences during the Late Yearly Meeting may say, I left home on the 17th of Last month in the Steam Boat at 5 P.M. & arrived safe

in Philadelphia the next morning between 8 & 9: This was the last day of Hicksite Y Meeting, the Women occupied their New Meeting House in Cherry Street & the men the Green St. Meeting house, the Size of which had been increased by the addition of a frame Building or Shed along one end & the Doors & windows taken out, but I believe it was not used as the house itself was found sufficiently Large for all the Men that attended. Elias & Willet Hicks were in attendance. I saw the former on the afternoon of 6th day on his way to attend the last Sitting. He rode in a Verry handsom Carriage being unusually high & occupied the Back Seat altogether himself, looked verry stately & bowed his head as he Passed possibly recollecting either me or the friend in Co. with me. . . . .

Willet Hicks attended the North Meeting last week in Style, drove up to the meeting house Door in his Barouch & Pair of Iron Greys, when he was handed out of the Carriage, & his servant immediately waited upon him with a Cloaths Brush & Brushed him down previous to his going to Meeting. . . . .

Philadelphia Y Meeting commenced on second Day in the Arch St. Meeting house as usual. Geo. & Ann Jones, Elizabeth Robson, Isaac & Anna Braithwaite & Thomas Shillitoe were all present, the floor of the house occupied by the Men was, I think, nearly if not quite as full as at former Years. Upstairs probably from 100 to 150 Persons, indeed I think the body of friends that might be Considered the Cream of the Society in reffrance to that Yearly Meeting, divested of all the froth & scum including all who for years past have been the Cause of confusion & disorder, which has unhappily prevailed during the Sittings of the Y Meeting. . . . .

In the Womens Meeting some desturbance occurred by a friend named Lydia Mott, from Skenectaday, a Hicksite Minister who had attended the Y. Meeting of the Separatists the preceeding week refusing to withdraw & insisting on her right as a Member of N. York Y. Meeting to sit & declaring she had as good a right as that friend, pointing to & naming Elizabeth Coggeshall. For a time she seemed to set all entreaty at defiance, when Ann Jones observed there appeared to be an obstruction to

the Meetings proceeding with its business & that obstruction must be removed. She was astonished that an Individual not wanting in Common Sense should presume to force her presence on the Meeting &c. After this, finding if she did not withdraw, she would be taken out by force, she withdrew, spreading out her Arms, Casting her Eyes up to the Youths Galleries & inviting the Young women to follow her pronouncing her expulsion Opression, Persecution &c ; said that Hundreds would leave them in Consequence & Calling upon the Young women who wished to follow Christ to Come with her. Considerable agitation & alarm was Manifested & one or two instances of fainting occurred, & notwithstanding her appeal to the feelings of the Young women but 4 or 5 went out with her, & they all returned except one. . . .

One Baltimorian, after attending the Separate YM went into the Country, returned to the City on 3rd day, attended the Sittings on 4th day & the Morning Sitting on 5th day, when he was Arrested by the Committee & advised Not to attempt another intrusion. Some attempts were made to elude the Vigilence of the Committee—getting through other Lotts & over fences & Grave Yards & entering the back part of the Meeting house Lott. One of the Separatists from New York took a great deal of pains to elude the Vigilence of the Committee by going thro a back Alley & passing over various Private Lotts & a grave yard & finally in Climing the Last fence ; before he reached the ground he found himself in the Custody of the Committee & was Conducted into the Street instead of the Meetinghouse to his no little mortification. I dont say this was an Englishman, but I think his Name was Wright.

L. Mott I think did not again intrude amongst the Women but at the Public Meeting in the Middle of the Week at Arch Street, she attended & appeared in Public testimony, & her Communication was of that Nature that an Elder of that Meeting believed it his Duty to oppose her, inform the Meeting that she was not in unity with the Society and desire her to Set down. She Battled the watch with him, declaring herself to be in unity with the Y. Meeting of New York & her friends at home & that she had a right to speak and would exercise that right,

denying his right to order her to set down. Considerable Altercation took place before she could be prevailed on to take her seat. And soon after she made a second attempt, when the same Elder, a second time, interfered & ordered her to take her seat. She again denied his authority & he insisted on his Authority & Duty as an Elder of that Meeting, & unless she took her seat and refrained from interrupting & desturbing the Meeting, the officers in attendance should be called in. She now desisted from further interruption. Thomas Stewardson from Kendal in Westmorland was the Elder above mentioned & this same Lydia Mott was since appointed assistant Clerk to the Womens Separatist Yearly Meeting at New York. . .

At the mens meeting it was reported as the Judgment of the Representatives that No Person who had so far Identified themselves with the Separatists as to attend their Meetings of Discipline should be permitted to attend any of the Settings of this Yearly Meeting, which was fully united with & Committees at the gates directed to Act accordingly. It was then desired that if there were any of the description now present, that they would withdraw. T. Shelleto I think said that he knew one Individual now present of this description. 'Tis said Thomas Wright of Hudson was then present & some few other Hicksites. One only I believe withdrew at this time, but the Committees kept a Sharp Look out after this sitting. T. Wright is an Englishman I think from Sheffield. . . . . .

In order to give you an idea of the upper seat may say the clerks, Samuel Bettle & William Evans, occupy the Centre of the Upper Gallery, which I think is six steps above the floor of the House, Seats on each step from one side to the other, descending to the floor. On the right of the clerks sit Thomas Shilletoe, Jonathan Taylor, William Jackson, an ancient and venerable Friend who has been in England, Hynchman Haynes, Stephen Grelett, Chrestopher Healy and many others I dont recollect filling up the seat to the right. And on the Left of the Clerks was William Flanner, Jonathan Evans, Isaac Bonsall, Joseph Whiteall, Othniel Allsop and many others filling up the Seat to the Left, and before them Thomas Stewardson, Thomas Wistar, Leonard Snowden,

John Parker, Isaac Braithwaite and a host of other valuable Ministers and Elders, &c., filling up the raised seats ; in short the Separatists can scarcely be said to be missed in Numbers and the Seats formerly occupied by them in producing confusion and disorder are now filled by the friends of order and propriety, concerned to support the order and Discipline of Society.

Thomas Shilletoe gave an account of his visit to two or three of the late Monthly Meetings, pointing out the peculiar difficulties in which some of them were placed—in one instance he stated the Number of Men, Women, and Children composing a Monthly Meeting to be upwards of 500, a separation has taken place and out of this number only 26 Men, Women, and Children were left, all the rest having joined the Separatists, including all the Overseers and active Members except four or five and these found themselves in a very weak state to put the Discipline in force against such a large number of disorderly members.

. . . .

The Meeting of Ministers & Elders meeting at 8 oclock, [I] was Invited this evening to Breakfast tomorrow morning at Samuel Bettles with Elizabeth Robson & Ruth Ely her Companion. In arriving there was invited to walk up Stairs into the front Parlour, where I found Wm. Jackson & his wife ; 2 or 3 women friends came in and went to their knitting, after which Samuel Bettle & John Chew Thomas, & soon after Elizabeth & Ruth who appeared much pleased to see me & made many enquiries after the friends in Balto. where they have a Number notwithstanding the Treatment they received when there. After chatting a while we were Called downstairs to Breakfast when E.R. requested me to set by her, which I accordingly did & we had a good deal of conversation whilst at Table. After breakfast she had to get ready to go to Select Meeting at 8 oclock, & requested me to come & see her whenever I could, that they were generally at home by 8 or 9 in the evening.

Elizabeth Robson paid a Visit to the Men's Meeting and occupied one hour in Public communication and supplications.

Reports were made [at the Monthly Meeting for the Northern District, 4 mo. 29] of furnishing numerous

Copies of testimonies of disownments against Separatists and left at the dwelling of such as would not receive them. In some cases it appears Committees have been invited in, and then locked up by the Parties; in others when it was known Committees were expected, the front Door has been Locked and the parties would look out of second storie windows and laugh at the Committees, refusing to open the door, and such like shameful conduct.

NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING

5 mo. 29. Various rumors have reached Baltimore within a few days past, by letters from Aquilla Jones, Rebecca Turner [?], Ephraim Gardner, William Tyson, Ann Brown [?], Michael Lamb, &c. very Contradictory in many things but generally agreeing in one Point, viz., that a Separation of New York Yearly Meeting took place on Second-day morning at the first sitting immediately on the opening of the Meeting, when it was observed by Thomas Shilletoe that there were a number of Disowned persons present and it would not be proper for the Meeting to proceed with its business until it was more Select. This is said to have been denied by the Hicksites who insisted that all that were present had a right to sit the Meeting, and called out for the Clerk to go on, much clamour and confusion ensuing. When a person informed the Meeting that the Representatives had met that morning and agreed to propose two persons (naming them) both Hicksites, for Clerk & assistant, the Confusion and disorder now became so great that an Adjourning Minute was read by the Clerk, and the Orthodox part of the Meeting withdrew to the room in the Basement Storey of the building; but not being able to gain Admittance, they proceeded in a body to the Medical College where accommodation was procured and it is presumed the business of New York Yearly Meeting was resumed and carried on. . . . .

Tis understood that after the Orthodox withdrew, the Hicksites remained, & appointing Nicholas Brown, Clerk, proceeded to business as a Yearly Meeting, but were probably not in possession of books, papers, etc. . . .

The account of the Meeting at which the Separation took place, as Published in *The Friend,* is truly a Lamentable Account of outrage, confusion and disorder, and that part of it relating to the installation of the new Hicksite Clerk exceedingly ludicrous, as he is represented as going over the Gallery Rail, Heels over Head, E. Hicks pulling him over with one hand and with the other pushing Richard Mott, the regular Assistant Clerk out of his seat. . . . .

6 mo. 3. The Hicksite Yearly Meeting appointed a committee to wait on our English Friends A. & I. B. [Anna & Isaac Braithwaite], G. & A. Jones, E. Robson and T. Shilleto with a Minute declaring their disunity with their Doctrines and Services, and advising their return, had, I believe, not succeeded in getting an opportunity with any but T. Shilleto who told them he did not know them as Friends and was not Amenable to them. They are understood to have stated that they should write to his friends at home advising his recall, and he desired them to give his Love to them, having a great regard for his friends at home.

OHIO YEARLY MEETING

9 mo. 17. The last few days has brought various reports of Letters from Ohio. The first, a Letter from H. Judges son in law to Wm E. Bartlett, mentions the Hicksites have possession of Mount Pleasant Meeting-house, and the Orthodox occupy the House at Short Creek—that previous to the Adjournment by the Orthodox at the first sitting, when they were all together, the Hicksites having forced an entrance, great Confusion & disorder took place. The Hicksites named one of their own party for a Clerk and that he was one hour in advancing 10 steps towards the Table & before he reached it, a regular Adjourning Minute was read by the Clerk to 10 oclock next morning. The Clerk's Table was broken to pieces, divers Coat tails torn off, amongst them Jonathan Taylors, & he himself is said to have been seriously injured. Cries of " Fire ! Fire ! " and that the Partition was falling and " Hurrah for Jackson " are said to have been uttered in the Midst of the greatest Confusion and Noise.

After the Orthodox withdrew, the Hicksites proceeded with their business, and Adjourned to 9 oclock next Morning, thereby getting possession of the House one hour before the Orthodox, who at 10 oclock demanded possession of the House in the Name of and for the use of Ohio Yearly Meeting, and were replied to that the Yearly Meeting of Ohio was then in session. They therefore held a meeting in the yard & then withdrew to Short Creek Meetinghouse about ½ a mile distant. Thus far goes the first account but not a word respecting the women.

The next account is brought by a Ohio Merchant not a Member who states that Hicks and three or four others of his Party are in Prison ; that Jonathan Taylor is severely injured & Apprehensions entertained for his recovery ; that the Outrage & riot was such as made it necessary for the Civil Authority to interfere, but still not a word respecting the women.

The next account, two days after, is a letter from H. Judges son-in-law to Wm E. Bartlett which is understood to admit that a number are bound over for their appearance at Court to take their Tryals on the 15th of next Month but that they are not and have not been in prison ; that the Clerk of the Hicksite Y Meeting and Halliday Jackson were taken into Custody by the Sherriff and escorted 22 miles to Steubensville the County town where they underwent an examination and entered into recognizances for their appearance on the 15th of next month to take their trials ; that the Hicksites Yearly Meeting concluded on the 12th Inst, but the Orthodox Y. Meeting was expected to continue untill the middle of the following week. H. Jackson is from Darby, a notorious Hicksite. He passt through Balto some time since on his way to Ohio Y.M. in company with Joseph Dodgson, an Englishman from Kendall, who now lives at Darby and I think is an overseer among the Hicksites. Marcus Tullius Cicero Gold, the stenographer, who also went to Ohio for the Purpose of taking down in Shorthand what should occur, is said to have hurried back to Philadelphia for the purpose of Printing and Publishing his notes, previous to the commencement of the Tryals. This is the substance of the 3rd Account as far as I have

understood, but still not a word respecting the women. All that has yet reached us is through Hicksites Channels. A few days more will probably put us in possession of more Authentic Accounts.

Tis said that E. Hicks himself was not present on the first opening of the Y. Meeting when the greatest Confusion and disorder occurred & therefore he cannot be blamed for what took place, but on the other hand it is understood that he and A. Peasley and E. Dawson have for some time previously been industriously engaged in encouraging the Hicksites in taking possession of the House & by no means to give it up, but to hold possession at all events, and if so I think he would in Law be considered Accessory before the fact, & on that ground liable for the Consequence that ensued, altho not present when the outrage or riot was committed.

I dont know whether I have before mentioned the names of friends from Philadelphia who went on to attend the Conference at Mount Pleasant. They are Jonathan Evans, Samuel Bettle, Thomas Stewardson, Isaac W. Morris, William Evans, B. Cooper and Josiah Tatem, and from New England Doctor L. Green, William Jenkins, and John Osborn. Similar committees would probably also attend from all the other Yearly Meetings except Baltimore who rejected the proposition. The Conference was to take place the week before Ohio Y. Meeting so that there would be a valuable body of friends from distant parts at that Yearly Meeting, which would be a great Strength to those disposed to adhere to the ancient order of Society & who would be living witnesses of the Conduct of those who departed therefrom. I am glad they were there for Thomas Shillitoe must have had a trying time. It seems to have been his lot to battle the watch with Elias Hicks ever since he went to the westward. Anna and Isaac Braithwaite are also there.

Gold, the Stenographer, past through or from Balto this morning on the way to Philadelphia. He states, I learn, that he never witnessed such a [?] murdering Scene among the Quakers ; that upwards of 60 went in a body from Mount Pleasant to Court then sitting at Steubenville; that a number were recognized to appear and take their trials on the 15th of next Month & the Court had

ordered the Depositions of distant Witnesses to be taken before a magistrate ; & that the day before he left Ohio Samuel Bettle was examined by Interrogatories & his Answers taken in writing ; that it commenced at 7 oclock in the morning & was not got through with untill dark in the Evening, & this was the first Depositions taken ; that he, Gold, attended & took it in Shorthand, & has also taken the Public Communications delivered on First Day by Elias Hicks, Elisha Bates & others which he is going to publish with all possible Speed.

9 mo. 23. Last evening Benjamin Cooper, of Haddonfield & Josiah Tatem of Salem, New Jersey, two of the Committee of Conference appointed on behalf of Philadelphia Y. Meeting arrived in Baltimore from Mount Pleasant, Ohio. They staid here one day to rest, and my friend, James Gillingham, and myself were invited to take tea & spend the evening with them at G. T. Hopkins's which we accordingly did, & they having also attended all the Sittings of the Y.M. of Ohio, were enabled to furnish much very interesting information relative proceedings there. Benjamin Cooper, I believe, Purchased the late Residence of Richard Jordan, near Haddonfield Meeting, and now occupies it. They state that the Account Published in *The Friend* relative to Proceedings at Mount Pleasant Meetinghouse on Second and Third Day was drawn up & read in the presence of a large number of Friends who fully concurred in its correctness, previous to its being sent to *The Friend*, it being very desirable that nothing but a Correct Statement should appear in that Paper. It also appears that Benjamin Cooper was the Individual alluded to in *The Friend*, who, on Third day morning went into the Hicksites Y.M. & ascertained their Numbers, by counting the Benches occupied, to be about 300, including many that had been regularly Disowned by the Meetings they belonged to, & not a few who never had any pretensions to a right of membership. This was ascertained from the Individual who kept the Door, who himself acknowledged that he never was a member of the Society of Friends. . . .

It appears that considerable Alarm was manifested by the Hicksites when they found that Civil Process had Issued against many of them upon three distinct Charges—

—first for a Riot, secondly for a Trespass or Trespasses, and thirdly for Disturbing a Religious Meeting. 10 or 12 were arrested on the first Charge, 4 on the second, & 2 on the 3rd. Many others absconded, but it is expected they will be pursued & taken. Depositions of many Friends from Distant parts have already been taken, among them are Samuel Bettle, Isaac Braithwaite, Josiah Tatem & others. Those connected with the first and second Charges will undergo their Trials before a Court and Jury to sit on the 15th of next Month.

[The letter concludes with the mention of various family matters.]

I am, very affectionately
Your Brother,
WM. PROCTER.

Philip E. Thomas and the B. & O.

THE following is an extract from a letter from William Procter, of Baltimore, to his friends in England (copy in **D**) :

7 mo. 4. 1828. A great civic procession having for its object not only the Commemoration of that Day as usual, the Day on which Independence was declared, but also the laying of the First Stone of the contemplated Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road. The President of this Company, Philip E. Thomas, is the present Clerk of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, Clerk to the Committee on Indian Concerns, one of the Committee of Correspondence on behalf of Baltimore Y.M. with Friends in London.

In his first official Correspondence with a Committee of Blacksmiths, who proposed presenting the Company with a Spade, Pick and Hammer, he addressed them as "Gentlemen" and concluded with saying that he "has the honour to be," &c, "P. E. Thomas." This, I presume, would in England be considered very inconsistent conduct for a Clerk of the Y. Meeting, and so it is here by many. But in subsequent similar addresses, he calls them "Respected Friends" and concludes, "Respectfully thy friend," etc. He is a very popular & influential Character both in civil and religious Society, though quite a small man.

A Pennsylvanian Loyalist's Interview with George III

EXTRACT FROM THE MS. DIARY OF SAMUEL SHOEMAKER, reprinted, by permission, from volume ii. (1878) of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.*

[Samuel Shoemaker was a resident of Philadelphia, belonging to the well-known family of that name which emigrated from Gresheim in Germany in 1686, and settled at Germantown. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and prominent as a merchant in Philadelphia. From 1755 to 1766, he was a member of the Common Council, and in the latter year was elected a member of the Board of Aldermen, which office he held until the fall of the Charter Government in 1776. In 1761 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and held the office for many years. He was one of the signers of the "Non-Importation Agreement" of 1765. In 1769 he was chosen Mayor of the city, and for two terms, in 1767 and 1774, was its Treasurer. He sat as a member from the city in the Provincial Assembly from 1771 to 1773.

Mr. Shoemaker remained in Philadelphia upon the entry of the British Army, in September, 1777. It is said that during its occupation he again fulfilled the duties of mayor, but this is not fully substantiated by the records. The Colonial Charter Government in the city came to an end in 1776, and it remained without one until 1789, during which period there was no such corporate office.

Upon the evacuation of the city in June, 1778, Mr. Shoemaker accompanied the army, and went to New York, where he remained until November, 1783, when he sailed for England, accompanied by his son Edward, a few days before the evacuation of that city.

Mr. Shoemaker was a pronounced Loyalist and was distinguished for his zeal on the side of the crown, in consequence of which he was attainted of treason and his estate confiscated. While in New York he exerted himself for the relief of the Whig prisoners, and by his

intercessions with the British authorities, numbers of them were liberated and allowed to return to their homes. While in London, he was, as his Diary shows, frequently consulted by the Commissioners appointed by the English Government to pass upon the claims of the Loyalists for losses. He returned to Philadelphia in 1789, and died in 1800.

This diary was kept for the entertainment of Mrs. Shoemaker,[1] who did not accompany her husband abroad. At the time to which the following extract refers, he was spending a few days at Windsor with his friend Benjamin West, the artist. The interview here described is probably the one referred to by Mr. Sabine in his "Loyalists of the American Revolution."]

First Day, Octo'r 10th 1784.

This morning at 8 'clock thy son accompanied B. West's wife to the King's Chappel where he had the opportunity of seeing the King and several of the Princesses. They returned before 9, when we were entertained with breakfast, at which we had the Company of Mr. Poggy the Italian Gent'n, Mr. Trumble,[2] Mr. Farrington,[3] and West's two sons. About 10 thy son accompanied Farrington, Trumble, and West's eldest son in a Ride through Windsor Forrest, having first been with West and I to his Room in the Castle to see a picture of the Lord's Supper which he had just finish'd for the King's Chappel. After part of our Company were gone to take their Ride, West informed me that the King had ordere'd him to attend at his Painting Room in the Castle at one 'Clock, when the King and Queen and some of the Princesses, on their return from Chappel, intended

[1] Samuel Shoemaker m. first 8th 12 mo. 1746, Hannah, dau. of Samuel Carpenter, by his wife, Hannah Preston, a granddaughter of Governor Thomas Lloyd, and secondly, 10th 11 mo. 1767, Rebecca, widow of Francis Rawle, and dau. of Edward Warner (see *Penna Mag.*, Vol. I., p. 459), by his wife, Anna, dau. of William Coleman.

[2] Colonel John Trumbull, a well-known officer of the Revolutionary Army, son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut. He was at this time studying painting under West, and afterwards became a distinguished artist.

[3] George Farrington, a noted English landscape and historical painter. He studied under West, removed to India, and died there at the early age of 34 years.

to call to see the Painting of the Lord's Supper, which he had just finished, and West told me it would be a very proper time and Opportunity for me to see the King, Queen and the rest of the family, as they came from the Chappel, and therefore requested me to accompany him and his Wife and the Italian Gent'n, and walk at the Castle near the Chappel, till service was over, when he must repair to his room to attend the King, and would leave me with his Wife in a proper Station to have a full view of the King and family.

Accordingly, a little before one O'clock, West and his Wife, the Italian Gent'n, and I, walk'd up to the Castle and there contin'd walking until the Clock struck One, when we observ'd one of the Pages coming from the Chappel. West then said he must leave us; presently after this two Coaches pass'd and went round towards the Door of the Castle leading to West's Room. In these two coaches were the Queen and Princesses; presently after the King appear'd, attended by his Equery only, and walk'd in great haste, *almost ran* to meet the Coaches at the door of the Castle above mentioned, which he reach'd just as the Coaches got there, as did West's wife, the Italian Gent'n and I, when we saw the King go to the door of the Coach in which the Queen was, and heard him say, "*I have got here in time,*" and then handed the Queen out and up the Steps, into the Castle—the Princess Royal, Princess Elizabeth, Princess Mary, and Princess Sophia, with Col. Goldsworthy, the King's Equery, the Hanoverian Resident, and Miss Goldsworthy, sub Governess to the two young Princesses, followed. They all went into the Castle, when I hear'd the King say, "tell him to come in," *but little did I think I was the Person meant,* and West's Wife, the Italian Gent'n, and I were about going off, when West came out of the Castle and told me the King had order'd him to come out and bring me and Mrs. West in. I was quite unprepared for this; however, it was now too late to avoid it. The Italian Gent'n now left us and went to walk the Terras, and West and his wife and I went into the Castle and were ushered up to the Room where the King and Royal family were, and there introduc'd. *Flattered and embarrassed thou may suppose,* on my entering the Room,

the King came up close to me, and very graciously said, " Mr. S., you are well known here, every body knows you," &c. (complimentary w'ch I can't mention). He then turned to the Queen, the Princesses, &c., who stood close by, and repeated, " Mr. S." I then made my bow to the Queen, then to the Princess Royal, to the Princess Eliza., Princesses Mary and Sophia. The Queen and each of the Princesses were pleased to drop a Curtsey, and then the Queen was pleased to ask me one or two Questions. The King and Queen and the four Princesses, the Hanoverian Resident, Col. Goldsworthy, Miss Goldsworthy, West and his wife, and I were all that were in the Room. The King condescended to ask me many questions, and repeated my answers to them to the Queen and to the Hanoverian Resident, and when to the latter, I observed he spoke it in German, which I understood. Among other Questions, the King was pleased to ask me the reason why the Province of Pennsylvania was so much further advanc'd in improvement than the neighbouring ones, some of which had been settled so many years earlier. I told his majesty (thinking it w'd be a kind of Compliment to the Queen's Country-men) that I thought it might be attributed to the Germans, great numbers of whom had gone over in the early part of the settlement of that Province, as well as since. The King smiled and said, " It may be so, Mr. S., it may in some measure be owing to that, *but I will tell you the true cause*,—the great improvement and flourishing State of Pennsylvania is principally owing to the Quakers " (this was a full return for my compliments to the Queen's Countrymen) for whom I observe the King has a great regard. Finding the King so repeatedly mention'd what I said to the Hanov'n Resident and to the Queen, *in German*, on the King's asking me a particular question, I took the liberty to answer in German, at which the King seemed pleased, and *with a smile*, turned to the Queen and said, " Mr. S. speaks German," and also mentioned it to the Hanoverian Resident, after which the King was pleased to speak to me several times in German. Then the Queen condescended to ask me several questions, one of the last, *whether I had a family*. On my telling her that I was once bless'd with a numerous family, but that it

had pleased Providence to remove them all from me, *except a wife and two Sons*, this *visibly* touched the Queen's delicate feelings, so much that she shed some Tears, at which I was *greatly* affected. She is a charming woman, and if not a Beauty, her manners and disposition are so pleasing that no Person who has the Opportunity that I have had can avoid being charm'd with the sweetness of her disposition. The Princess Royal is pretty, has a charming countenance indeed; the Princess Elizabeth very agreeable, but rather too fat or bulky for her height. Mary and Sophia are pretty, but being so young their looks will alter.

After being graciously indulged with the opportunity of conversing with the King and Queen, and being in the Room with them three-quarters of an hour, they all departed and went to the Queen's House.

I cannot say, but I wished some of my violent Countrymen could have such an opportunity as I have had. I think they would be convinced that George the third has not one grain of Tyrany in his Composition, and that he *is* not, he *cannot* be that bloody minded man they have so repeatedly and so illiberally called him. It is impossible; a man of his fine feelings, so good a husband, so kind a Father, *cannot be a Tyrant.*

After the Royal family were gone, West and his wife and I return'd to West's house where we were soon join'd by the Italian Gent'n, and those who had been out Riding, and at three O'clock were entertained at a genteel Dinner and spent the afternoon and evening together very pleasantly till 11 'Clock when we retir'd to Bed. This happens to be B. West's birthday; he has now enter'd his forty-seventh year.

PROHIBITION IN AMERICA.—" I heard a man say the other night—he was addressing a large company of men who seemed to be a little discouraged because of the bibulous denials of the day in which they were living—he said: 'If any of you gentlemen go home late to-night and your wife, when you come within the threshold, gives you an ecstatic kiss, you may *now* know that it is a manifestation of affection and not an attempt at investigation.'"

From the *Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society of New York*, 1921.

The Case of William Batkin

THE story of William Dyne, who was convinced of peace principles while in the Marines in 1839, and of his consequent sufferings, is well known,[1] but similar experiences about the same time of other "conscientious objectors" have not received the notice given to William Dyne's case.

Less than two years after the attention of Friends had been called to William Dyne, Rochester Friends made the acquaintance of another soldier stationed at Chatham, William Batkin, by name. A sheaf of letters, lent by Gilbert Gilkes, has been before us and from these letters and other sources we have drawn up the following narrative.

William Batkin enlisted at Liverpool as a private in the third regiment of infantry, Buffs, under Colonel Weare. Most of the regiment had been despatched to India, he and a few others only remaining at Chatham. His intimacy with Friends arose through his acquaintance with Benjamin Bishop, of Rochester, a blind Friend, and gradually he became convinced of the peace principles Friends professed, and could not any longer live the life of a soldier. Friends of Rochester and district—Benjamin Bishop, Richard and Ann Marsh, Frederick Wheeler and Ann Rickman the schoolmistress—did not venture to suggest the action he should take, but advised him to do what he felt to be right. In a full account of the case, written by B. Bishop and sent to John Hodgkin (then Junior), of London, we read :

> I lent him Barclay's Apology, but not without first feeling my way clear to do so, for I have not forgotten all I had to wade through on the laying down of the arms of H. N. & W. D.[2]

[1] For William Dyne (1818-1896) see *The Changed Warfare*, second series.

[2] That is, Henry Newton and William Dyne. After having been bought out of the army, Newton married Abigail, daughter of Benjamin Bishop, of Strood, the blind Minister, 4 vii. 1844,—"the prim daughter Abby" of Charles Tylor's narrative. (THE JOURNAL, xvii. 3.) Little is known of Newton's later life. He had a considerable family.

In an interview between W. Batkin and Colonel Warre,[3] the commandant of the Chatham garrison, reported to his friends by the prisoner, the commandant

stated, did I think that he could look over my crime, or was I aware what punishment he could inflict on me. I answered "According to the army rule, he could shoot me." He said: "Very true, my man, We wont shoot you we will give you a good flogging."

Col. Warre also said to the prisoner: "These people that made you do this will not come and receive any of your punishment." Batkin denied that they had told him to give up soldiering.

In a later interview with F. Wheeler and R. Marsh, Col. Warre reminded them that the way out of the difficulty was the payment of £20 for his release, and added:

I think you ought to be exceedingly careful how you *tamper* with the army. But a *little* more evidence (or information) was wanted and I should have considered it my duty at once to have commenced a prosecution against you.

The refusal of Batkin to mount guard was followed by his trial at a district court martial, which was attended by F. Wheeler and B. Bishop, who considered the trial a very fair one. The proceedings, as reported in notes taken by the Friends present, were as follows:

Proceedings of a District Court Martial in the case of private William Batkin of the 3rd Infantry, 22nd of 1 mo. 1841.

President, Lieutenant Col. Wm. Ferguson (6 other officers on the Court).

President: "Wm Batkin, have you any objection to make to any of the Officers whose names have been now read."

Prisoner: "No."

The Court was Sworn.

The Charges were read as follows:

1st For having on or about the 8th instant refused to go on guard at Upnor when repeatedly ordered to do so by Lieutenant Fosse and saying that he would not be a Soldier any longer.

2nd For subsequently persisting in the same disobedience before Colonel Sir Wm. Warre.

President: "Are you guilty or not guilty?"

Prisoner: "Guilty."

[3] Colonel Warre (1784-1853), afterwards Sir William Warre, was in command at Chatham from 1837 to 1841. See *D.N.B.*

Lance Sergent Moore, Sworn: "I was orderly sergnt on the 7th and warned the Prisoner for guard on the 8th he made no objection at that time."

The Prisoner had no questions to ask.

Sergnt Damon Derrick, Sworn: "I was orderly Sergent on the 8th at Upnor and when on Parade I found the Prisoner in fatigue dress. I asked him the cause he replied—he gave me no answer or satisfaction but said he would not go on guard. I then ordered him immediately to be confined and reported him to Lieutenant Fosse, the Officer commanding the detachment."

Lieutenant C. B. Fosse (Sworn): "On the morning of the 8th instant it was reported to me by the orderly Sergnt that the Prisoner refused to mount guard. On being brought before me he stated he did not wish to be a soldier any longer. I explained to him that he could not obtain his object by that means and he would most probably be tried by Court Martial. He still persisted in refusing to mount guard. I then ordered him back to confinement, to be brought to head quarters. I am Commander of the detachment at Upnor."

Lieutenant Henry Jackson, Sworn: "I was present at the garrison office on the 14th instant when the Prisoner was admonished by Sir Wm Warre on the impropriety of his conduct in refusing to go on guard and to obey the orders of his superior officers. The Commandant at the same time clearly pointed out to him the consequences that must inevitably follow his persisting therein. The Prisoner said he was perfectly aware of the consequences but that he could not make up his mind to take the life of any man and therefore would not do his duty as a soldier any longer."

Colour Sergnt John Mansfield, Sworn: "I conducted the Prisoner to the Commandant on the 14th instant when there Sir Wm Warre reasoned with him on the impropriety of his conduct and wished him to return to his duty. He still persisted in his disobedience and said he was aware that he was liable to the punishment of death for his crime."

Here the prosecution closed and the Prisoner was put on his defence.

President: "What have you to say in your defence? You must confine yourself to the Charges and recollect the solemn oath that you have taken to serve the Queen."

The Prisoner asked for a few moments to think—and then said: "My reason for not taking up arms is because I am afraid of offending my God. The oath which I took on entering the service, my belief is now that I did wrong in taking that oath and let the consequences be what they may I intend with God's help to stand to it—viz., the not taking up arms."

President: "Have you anyone to speak to your character?"

Prisoner: "Yes. Sergnt Mansfield."

Colour Sergnt Mansfield: "The Prisoner's character was always very good up to the present Charges."

The Court was cleared.

On its being re-opened—

Garrison Adjutant Jackson. Sworn: "The prisoner's general character is very good—his age is about 19 yrs & 3 mos. and he has been in the service 1 yr 3 mos."

The Prisoner declined questioning any of the Witnesses saying that it was all true.

On hearing of the trial, John Hodgkin, though much pressed with other work, went down to Rochester to consult with local Friends and quickly returned with F. Wheeler to interview Sir George Gray[4], the Judge Advocate (the chief law-officer at the Horse Guards). Writing to Peter Bedford, J.H. recorded the interview :

We found him and Lady Gray at tea. He, or rather they, entered with interest into the subject. He told us that he thought there was no danger whatever of flogging and promised to enquire fully into the business at the Horse Guards. The ultimate difficulty is the great thing—how is he to be discharged. This assumes the shape with Sir George Gray which Dyne's discharge did with Dr. Lushington.

Sir G. Gray informed J.H. next day that Batkin was sentenced to one year's imprisonment at the Milbank Penitentiary.

John Hodgkin, writing to Sir George Gray, on the 26th of January, acknowledged his letter, and added :

Neither the young man himself nor those who have taken an interest in his case, have, I believe, any desire to prevent his giving that proof of sincerity which the cheerful and patient endurance of suffering may afford.

Two points, however, much press upon my thoughts—the one is the question of his eventual discharge and the other the great importance (considering his youth and as we believe his present tenderness of conscience) of his being as little exposed to contaminating association as possible. Surely something may be done in this respect.

William Tweedy, of Truro, now appeared on the scene in a letter to J. Hodgkin, stating that he had written to Lord Hill[5] on the prisoner's behalf.

[4] Sir George Gray (1799-1882) married Anna Sophia, daughter of Henry Ryder, bishop of Litchfield. His mother was a warm friend of Wilberforce. Sir George and Lady Gray were both religious characters. *D.N.B.*

[5] Rowland Hill (1772-1842), first Viscount, had a long and distinguished military career. He died unmarried and left large property to his eleven nephews.

Learning that Batkin had been removed from Milbank and taken on board ship, Friends sought an interview with Lord Hill, thus depicted in the handwriting in pencil of the blind Friend :

Our dear friend Richard Marsh, overlooking his family difficulties went off by the night coach with the intelligence to J. H., whose house he reached by 7, and J. H. with G. S. [? George Stacey] entered very feelingly into the subject, and after the morning meeting, accompanied by W. Forster, they three with R. M. went to Westminster and first called at the Penitentiary to see the Governor to learn if he could confirm the report, but he being at their place of worship, they were detained some time. . . They did not see W. B. but made the best of their time. . . They called on one and on another but none were at home.

At length by half-past six they got to Lord Hills. They were informed his l.p. would be at home by 7 to dine, but his private secretary manifested no inclination to introduce them, but whilst friends were waiting, his carriage drew up and J. H. introduced himself and his friends by, shall I say, very politely assisting him out and opening to him the object of their visit. L. H. received them respectfully but treated the subject in a soldierly manner, saying if B. went to sea it would cure him of his fancies. However, he promised friends that he would receive a memorial from them of the case, on 2nd day at twelve o'clock with the minutes of the Court Martial.

R. M. returned home on 2nd day post [?] and before he left Gravesend gave a waterman something to go to the ship and enquire if W. B. was on board and send him word.

Being told that W.B. was on board, R. Marsh and F. Wheeler went off at once and found ready access to Batkin, with whom they had a satisfactory conversation.

R. Marsh reported to Peter Bedford :

Orders have been received at the Barracks from Lord Hill that Wm. Batkin is to be removed from on board the ship and brought to Chatham Depot and another man sent in his stead, a Seargant has been sent for him but the ship has sailed. Further orders are now forwarded to Portsmouth or Plymouth to stop him there.

Susanna Corder, Thomas Christy, William Allen and Priscilla Rickman were also active on Batkin's behalf.

Thus far the MSS. The conclusion of the matter is not given, and at present we have no knowledge of how the case ended. Above is interesting as it shows the self-denying activities of Friends on behalf of sufferers for conscience sake.

The Convincement of John Coughen 1663

THE following two letters were taken from a copy of the originals (presumably), preserved in **D**, written on one sheet in the handwriting of Thomas Ellwood. The sheet of MS. was presented by Thomas Thompson, of Liverpool, to Thomas Mounsey, of Sunderland, in 1846. The presentation is referred to in a letter from Thomas Mounsey to his uncle, Thomas Robson, dated 10 vi. 1846. The writer mentions the account of Coughen in Croese's *History* (**D**, J. J. Green Collection).

I

Anthony Sparrow[1]

These are to acquaint thee y^t^ y^e^ Lord of infinit mercy hath affected & perswaded my heart to own y^e^ glorious truth of God witnessed out by those contemned Christians w^ch^ in scorn are called Quakers; insomuch thou canst not expect y^t^ J should any longer officiate at Bury. J have been out of town ever since tuesday morning, & therefore do not know whether thou hast answered my lett^r^ wrot on monday last or noe, but if ther be any lett^r^ ther for me, J have ordered a freind to send it back unto thee w^th^ this: As concerning y^e^ mony J writ for, J do not desire it now, having been too long a preacher for Gain. J wish thee to tel y^e^ Bowser [burser] J intend (God willing) to be at Cambridge not many days hence & to discharge my debts, so J bid thee heartily farewel.

Thy freind in y^e^ truth,

JOHN COUGHEN.

Essex May 15^th^ 1663

[1] An application for information made to Walter G. King, of Bury St. Edmunds, in 1906, brought the following reply: "Anthony Sparrow appears to have been the Incumbent at one of our churches and was in receipt of £500 a year from the Town Council. He also seems to have had Probationers working under him or with him, and I think John Coughen must have been one of these but I could find no mention of his name."

II

Alderman[2]

Since J have been out of town, J have been clearly convinced y^t^ those despised people called Quakers are y^e^ true worshippers of God, who being a sp^t^ must be worshipped in sp^t^ & truth, & not according to y^e^ fond imaginations of men; so y^t^, whatsoever J have done heretofore, J can no longer joyn my self unto those whose devotions are for y^e^ most part terminated in y^e^ worship of an unknown God, J mean of a God unknown, unseen or unfelt in y^e^ heart, wher his kindom or residenc is, as truth itself testifies, y^t^ we are not to mind those y^t^ tel us of a Kingdom of God here or there, confining to any visible worship or place, since y^e^ Kingdom of God is within us, & ther is silence to be waited for. J thought fit to acquaint thee w^th^ thus much, y^t^ thou mightest understand y^e^ reason of my absenting my self, & so J bid thee farewel.

Thy freind in y^e^ truth

JOHN COUGHEN.

15^th^ May, 1663

Little has been found among usual sources of information respecting Coughen, and it is therefore somewhat surprising to find a considerable account of him in the *History of the Quakers*, written in 1695, by Gerard Croese, a Dutch historian, of doubtful reliability. This account follows:

> . . . At this same very time [c. 1665] they were likewise bereav'd of John Coughen, so fam'd and renown'd among the Quakers, who tho he was not taken out of the World, yet deserted his Station, and separated himself from the Society of Quakers. This Man being born in Holland, of English Parentage, went over into England, where he finish'd his Philosophical and Theological course in the University of Cambridge, that Nursery of Learning which boasts so much of her integrity, that she never emitted any Disciples that prov'd corrupt or unsound in Religious matters: He afterwards became Minister to a Church in that Country, being ordain'd by Reynolds Bishop of Norwich; but he had not long exercis'd this function when he made defection to Quakerism, at the same very time that he was most busy in confirming and fortifying himself and his hearers, against the influences of that sect.

[2] W. G. King thinks that the letters were written to different persons as Sparrow's name is not in the list of Aldermen of 1663.

There was a young Virgin among the Quakers, fam'd for her dexterity and skill in Preaching, whom many of the people us'd to follow, Coughen having under-stood that she was to preach in a certain place goes thither himself in his Canonical Robes, in order to preserve his hearers from being seduc'd by her discourses. But so soon as he came to hear her, he was so moved and affected, that he not only not opposed her, or her Doctrine, but appear'd for its defence, and spoke publickly for it at that same occasion, and returning home, abandon'd his Ecclesiastick habit, joyning himself to be a member of their Society ; in which he afterwards became a Doctor and Preacher, and was much caress'd and applauded by them. But not long after this he return'd to Holland again, and meeting at Harlem with Edward Richardson, Minister to the English Church in that place, and discoursing with him about Religion, he was so influenc'd by his company that he forsook the Quakers and their Society, betaking himself to Leyden, when he pursued the Study of Medicine. Which when he had finish'd he returns to England, and professes that Art of administring medicine to the sick, sequestrating himself all along from that Society, till at length some three years thereafter, he attempts to introduce a new Model of Doctrine and Discipline, (which had been so often endeavour'd by so many and so great Men) of obliging all Christians to concentrate in one common faith, and interpose their interest and power, for reconciling the differences of Religion amongst all who profess'd the Name of Christ (pt. ii, p. 27).

John Reckless, of Nottingham, and his Sons

In vol. vi. there is a full account of the family of John Reckless. The following will add to the interest of the article, written by Emily Manners :

(1) "This Sheriffe [John Reckless] Received the Truth, and Left divers Sons ; Some of them are yet living and are honest ffriends in the Truth to this day. I have Lodged at Several of their Houses when I have been At Nottingham on Truths Account."

"Some of the Sufferings of God's People," under date 1649, by Thomas Thompson, of Skipsea, MS. in **D**.

(2) In the Diary of George Fox's Travels, written by Edward Haistwell (MS. in **D**, p. 11), we read :

"G ff : and L ff. passed thorow the Country to Nottingham to Jn° Recles house who when G ff first declared truth in that town, hee was y^e^ Mayor [altered in another hand to 'Sheriff'], and cast G ff in prison, at w^ch^ time hee was Convinced, and so Remaines a good ffr^d^ to this day [addition in the same hand as above : '& his familly']."

The History of "The Story of Carazan, the Merchant of Bagdad"

A CURIOUS manuscript, accompanied by a cutting from a newspaper, has recently been acquired by the Reference Library; it bears the above as an endorsement.

The "History" is contained in five quarto pages and the printed cutting containing the "Story" has been pasted on to two sheets of similar size. The writer of the manuscript is not known; the print has probably been cut from a copy of an American paper, it being preceded by the following, in writing: "The Story of Carazan now appears in the *Sunday Despatch*, a Newspaper of Philad[a], dated 2[d] mo. 5[th], 1854."

This statement has been verified by our F.H.S. President, Charles F. Jenkins, who consulted the paper in the rooms of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The "Story" occupies about one full column of space equal to a column of *The Times* of London.

Here follows the "History"—all the persons named have been identified:

The admirable story of Carazan probably owes its origin to Friends, and that its author was a young member of Society seventy years ago.

On the suppression of the Jesuits and their destruction on the Continent of Europe, but last of all in France, John Revoult,[1] a French Gentleman of exceedingly courtly manners and address and possessed of great mental powers and a vast fund of acquired learning, fled for his life, which was endangered by his position as a Priest of "The Order of Jesus," and like the Hugonots

[1] Of John Revoult (*c.* 1729-1811) we read, in his liberation for marriage: "John Revoult of Lime Street, London, teacher of Languages, Son of John Revoult of La Ferte Bernard in the District of Maine in the Diocess of Mans in France & Catherine Vaches his wife, both deceased." He married Hannah Mayleigh, daughter of Samuel, late of Aldermanbury, London, Apothecary, at Devonshire House, 1761, iii. 31. Hannah Revoult died in 1773, aged forty-five. At his death John Revoult is given as N.M. (non-member) in the Friends' Registers.

had done on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he took refuge in Spitalfields, then a suburb of London, but now far imbedded with the building of that great Metropolis of the World. There John Revoult found shelter and protection under the Wings of one Barnes,[2] an eminent Silk dyer, who held high standing among Friends as a member of Society and frequented Gracechurch Street Meeting where John Revoult accompanied him and thus became a convinced Friend, and ultimately a member of the family by marriage with Barnes' Niece.

Influential Friends who then occupied the most prominent positions in England as Merchants, Bankers, and Manufacturers, saw in the application of the superior talents of John Revoult a means whereby the very highest degree of Scholastic learning could be introduced to the minds of the rising generation among Friends in Society, and they determined to make him available to this object by setting up the young couple in a Boarding School for Twenty Boys at Wandsworth, six miles from London, which succeeded to admiration though a costly establishment, and Boys of the highest families were in a few days found to fill the list and supply candidates for the future vacancies to occur in the lapse of time. Among the families so favoured were the Gurney's, Oxley's, Bevan's, Willis, Rogers, Fox, Mildred, Harman, Hanbury, Newberry, Hoare,[3] and similar houses—and thus Friends became a learned body filled with young men of rare intellect and polished manners—who by their school associations and religious meetings were much drawn together, and their families being rich and themselves in lucrative positions had both leisure and taste to cultivate the sciences and learning which they had been favoured with above the general body of Society, and they were the occasion of much jealousy on the part of those who were not so favoured.

Among other pursuits of those Young Friends [they] sent forth a periodical Book or Miscellany for which the

[2] Samuel Barnes (-1784), citizen and dyer, of Booth Street, Spitalfields, married Sarah Mayleigh at Devonshire House, 7 x. 1749.

[3] Samuel Hoare (1751-1825) and his brother, Jonathan, were at the seminary of " John Riveaux," at Highbury, and afterwards at Kennington. Some amusing anecdotes of their school life are given in *Samuel Hoare*, London, 1911, p. 5.

contributions were chiefly written by some or other of those Friends—whereunto was attached as Editor or Publisher Dr. Hooper[4] of Tooley Street, husband of Mrs. Hooper (who compounded a celebrated medicine called Hooper's Female Pills), and who was a Public Friend frequenting the Park Meeting in Southwark.

That Miscellany was rather circulated than sold, among Friends' families chiefly, and contained several valuable Oriental and other moral Tales, including—

The story of Carazan the Merchant of Bagdad was written by one of those young men and a Manuscript copy of it, beautifully written by the author, whose name was concealed, was presented to one of his Schoolfellows before the printing of it, and which manuscript exists in his Library. The writers generally concealed their names on their contributions to that miscellany, as they greatly feared to offend, by their choice of language used in their literary works, which might bring on them unpleasant visitations from persons less catholic and less learned than themselves. That feeling ultimately stopped the progress of the miscellany and the publication ceased.

It was believed that the first part of the Story of Carazan was written to pourtray the character of J. G. Bevan who was a mercenary and mean man, exceedingly punctilious in fulfilling every visible worldly obligation, but who never did anything that did not tend to his own aggrandisement. . . .[5]

The second part of the Story it was supposed would operate to bring his mind into a state of Christian comity

[4] Dr. Joseph Hooper (1732-1815), of Tooley Street, married Rachel Crosby in 1758. In recording the death of Rachel Hooper (-1819), at Walworth, James Jenkins writes :

"I first knew and witnessed her partial attention in 1763, when I was frequently sent to their shop. I lately mentioned this circumstance to her, when in her company at Amwell, but she seemed to have retained but little recollection of Jn° Fry's slovenly little errand-boy" (*Records*, p. 984).

Dr. Hooper "had great practice and died rich." J. Jenkins visited him "at his charming seat, Amwell (formerly Jn° Scott's)" a few months prior to his death, and he also attended his funeral.

There is a portrait in **D** of "J. Hooper, M.D., F.M.S."

[5] We refrain from quoting further from this diatribe respecting a well-known and much respected Friend, the more because it is anonymous. Contemporary records describe Joseph Gurney Bevan (1753-1814) as "our chief disciplinarian."

with all the members of society and mankind in general. The work proved insufficient for the object contemplated! Some years afterwards (in or about 1795) William Allen, one of the most learned men in society, since known as Dr. Allen, [?] borrowed of one of the scholars for Joseph Gurney Bevan (who at about twenty three years old had been made one of the Elders in Gracechurch Street Meeting, and was William Allen's partner in trade), a printed copy of the miscellany, the only one then supposed to exist, and which was never returned to the owner by whom it was believed that J. G. Bevan felt a pleasure in destroying those Books and had made them scarce.

John Revoult was an enthusiastic admirer of Eastern literature, and taught that no persons not versed in the habits, manners and history of the Asiatic and other nations surrounding Syria could properly comprehend the Holy Scriptures or become an useful instrument in the propagation of the principles of Friends, and in the exercise of the Noble attributes of Humanity and true Christianity as depicted in the Story of Carazan and such works which were much multiplied during his time. He carried on successfully for more than fifty [years] a celebrated Academy, and at a Jubilee given to him at that time by persons who had been brought up under him, more than three hundred Gentlemen of consideration, his scholars, set down to dinner with him their venerable master then over eighty years old.

The Story of Carazan now appears in the *Sunday Despatch*, a Newspaper of Philad[a], dated 2[d] mo. 5[th], 1854, with the following preface:

"THE MERCHANT OF BAGDAD."

AN APOLOGUE.

(That man lives not for himself alone, but for the good and happiness of others, is the lesson inculcated in the following beautiful Eastern story, which Fraser's Magazine has pronounced "one of the finest Eastern Apologues ever written, and a better Christmas story than Mr. Dickens's." The author's name is unknown.)

Carazan, a merchant of Bagdad, was eminent throughout all the east for his avarice and wealth. It was remarked that when he was diligent, he was thought to be generous; and he was still acknowledged to be inexorably Just. But whether in his dealings with men, he

discovered a perfidy which tempted him to put his trust in gold, or whether in proportion as he accumulated wealth, he discovered his own importance to increase, Carazan prized it more as he hoarded it up; he gradually lost the inclination to do good, as he acquired the power; and as the hand of Time scattered the snow upon his head, the freezing influence extended to his bosom.

But, though the door of Carazan was never opened by hospitality, nor his hand by compassion, yet fear led him constantly to the Mosque at the stated hours of prayer; he performed all the rites of devotion with the most scrupulous punctuality, and has twice paid his vows at the temple of the Prophet. That devotion which arises from the love of God, and necessarily includes the love of man, as it connects gratitude with beneficence, and exalts that which was moral to divine, confers new dignity before goodness, and is the object not only of affection, but reverence. On the contrary, the devotion of the selfish, whether it be thought to avert the punishment which everyone wishes to be inflicted, or to insure it by the complicity of hypocrisy with guilt, never fails to excite indignation and abhorrence. Carazan therefore, when he had locked his door, and, turning round with a look of suspicion, proceeded to the Mosque, was followed by every eye with silent malignity. The poor suspended their supplication when he passed by; and though he was known by every man, yet no man saluted him.

Such had long been the life of Carazan, and such was the character which he had acquired, when notice was given by proclamation that he had removed to a magnificent building in the midst of the city, and that his table should be spread for the public, and that the stranger should be welcome to his bed. The multitude soon rushed like a torrent to his door, where they beheld him distributing bread to the hungry, and apparel to the naked—his eye softened with compassion, and his cheek glowing with delight. Everyone gazed with astonishment at the prodigy, and the murmur of innumerable voices increasing like the sound of approaching thunder, Carazan beckoned with his hand; attention suspended the tumult in a moment, and he thus gratified the curiosity which had procured him audience.

"To Him who touches the mountains and the smoke, the Almighty and the most Merciful, be everlasting honor. He has ordained sleep to be the minister of instruction, and his visions have reproved me in the night. As I was sitting alone in my harem, with my lamp burning before me, computing the product of my merchandise, and exulting in the increase of my wealth, I fell into a deep sleep, and the hand of him who dwells in the third heaven was upon me. I beheld the Angel of Death coming forward like a whirlwind, and he smote me before I could deprecate the blow. At the same moment I felt myself lifted from the ground, and transported with astonishing rapidity through the regions of the air. The earth was contracted to an atom beneath; and the stars glowed round me with a lustre that obscured the sun. The gate of Paradise was now in sight, and I was intercepted by a sudden brightness which no human eye could behold: the irrevocable sentence was now pronounced; my day of probation was passed; and from the evil of my life nothing

could be taken away, nor could anything be added to the good. When I reflected that my lot for eternity was cast, which not all the powers of nature could reverse, my confidence totally forsook me; and while I stood trembling and silent, covered with confusion and chilled with horror, I was thus addressed by the Radiance that flamed before me: 'Carazan, thy worship has not been accepted, because it was not promoted by *love of God;* neither can righteousness be rewarded because it was not produced by *love of man;* for thy own sake only hast thou rendered to every man his due; and thou hast approached the Almighty only for thyself. Thou hast not looked up with gratitude, nor round thee with kindness. Around thee thou hast, indeed, beheld vice and folly; but if vice and folly could justify thy parsimony, would they not condemn the bounty of heaven? Remember, Carazan, that thou hast shut compassion from thy heart, and grasped thy treasure with a hand of iron; thou hast lived for thyself; and, therefore, henceforth and for ever, thou shalt subsist alone! From the light of heaven and from the society of all beings thou shalt be driven; solitude shall protract the lingering hour of eternity, and darkness aggravate the hour of despair!' At this moment I was driven by some secret and irresistible power through the glowing system of Creation, and passed innumerable worlds in an instant. As I approached the verge of Nature, I perceived the shadows of total and boundless vacuity deepen before me—a dreadful region of eternal silence, solitude and darkness. Unutterable horror seized me at the prospect, and this exclamation burst from me with the vehemence of desire—'Oh, that I had been doomed for ever to the common receptacle of impenitence and guilt! There society would have alleviated the torment of despair, and the rage of fire would not have excluded the comfort of light. Oh, if I had been condemned to reside on a comet that would return but once in a thousand years to the regions of light and life, the hope of these periods, however distant, would cheer me in the dreary interval of cold and darkness, and the vicissitude would divide eternity into time!'

"While this thought passed over my mind I lost sight of the remotest star, and the last glimmering of light was quenched in utter darkness. The agonies of despair every moment increased, as every moment augmented my distance from the habitable world. I reflected, with intolerable anguish, that when ten thousand years had carried me beyond the reach of all but that Power who fills infinitude, I should look forward into an immense abyss of darkness, through which I should still live without succor and without society, further and further still, for ever and for ever. I then stretched out my hands towards the regions of existence, with an emotion that awakened me. Thus have I been taught to estimate society, like every other blessing, by its loss. My heart is warmed to liberality; and I am zealous to communicate the happiness I feel to those from whom it is derived; for the society of one wretch, whom in the pride of prosperity I would have spurned from my door, would, in the dreadful solitude to which I was condemned, have been more highly prized than the gold of Afric or the gems of Golconda."

At this reflection upon his dream Carazan became suddenly silent, and looked upward in an ecstasy of gratitude and devotion. The multitude were struck at once with the precept and example; and the Caliph, to whom the event was related that he might be liberal beyond the power of gold, commanded it to be recorded for the benefit of posterity.

Anecdotes of William Penn

JOSEPH NAISH, of Congresbury, who died in 1822, aged seventy-two, father-in-law of Samuel Capper, was acquainted with a person whose father remembered William Penn when he resided near Reading. He could relate many anecdotes of him, but the two following only are now remembered by S. Capper:

On one occasion, coming to Reading to attend Meeting, several Friends spoke to him after Meeting saying they should be glad of his company to dine, but feared they had not suitable accommodation or provision, etc., for him. At last, a plain, honest woman asked him to her house, saying she could furnish all he could require. W. P. accepted her invitation and accompanied her to her very humble dwelling, in which was a small shop where she sold provisions, etc. She took thence some bread, butter and cheese, and W. Penn made a very sufficient dinner, much enjoyed his visit, and, at parting, heartily thanked her for her hospitality and especially for her cordial kindness and hearty welcome.

On another occasion coming to Reading and being about to proceed thence to London in order to attend at the Court of James II., as was his frequent practice, several Friends manifested their uneasiness at his being so much at Court, expressing their fears that in such a place, and in such company, he would be in great danger of departing from that simplicity of demeanour which Friends believed it their duty to maintain.

W. Penn, after listening to their observations, expressed his wish to take one of their number with him to the Court of James, and one of them accordingly accompanied him thither. Being duly introduced, he remained with him during the whole time, thus having a full opportunity of observing the tenour of W.P.'s carriage, as well towards the king as towards others with whom he came in contact. Finding that his conduct, mode of address and general demeanour were quite in harmony with his profession and practice as a Friend, he was entirely satisfied and was thus put in a position to allay the uneasiness of such of his friends as had entertained doubts on this head.

From a letter of Thomas Mounsey, of Sunderland, to his uncle, Thomas Robson, of Liverpool, dated 19 3 mo. 1850. In the J. J. Green Collection in D.

Obituary

JOSEPH JOSHUA GREEN, 1854-1921

STUDENTS of Quaker history and genealogy will keenly feel the loss of the help so readily given by our late friend, J. J. Green, of Hastings, who died on the 24th of October, 1921.

For over forty years he was occupied collecting particulars of numerous Quaker and allied families, with many of which he and his wife were related by direct or collateral descent. Much of this information remains in manuscript, but articles from his pen have appeared in periodical literature and he collaborated with his relative, Canon Charles Wilmer Foster, B.A., in the production of that fine volume "The History of the Wilmer Family." It is to be regretted that J. J. Green was not able to sort and arrange more of the materials he collected, much of which is now in the Devonshire House Reference Library.

The following is an extract from a minute placed on record by the Committee of the Reference Library:

> J. J. Green has always shown great interest in the work of the Library and was one of its most frequent correspondents until ill-health compelled him to lay aside his literary work. He was president of the Friends' Historical Society in 1908-9, and contributed largely to its Journal. Books and MSS. of his collection and compilation which are in the Library give evidence of the vast amount of information he had gathered together during the last forty years.

But not alone as a collector will J. J. Green be remembered. He was an ardent Friend, and especially devoted to the cause of peace, as his many letters to *The Friend* bear witness. He had the pen of a ready writer and often discussed religious and social subjects at length with his many correspondents.

William Allen's Third Marriage

JULIET M. MORSE has kindly sent us the following extracts from letters written by her grandmother, Isabella Harris, to her mother, Isabella Tindall, and her sisters. Her cousin, Mrs. Tindall, writes :

I am quite willing that you should publish anything you like from these letters and you can mention great grandmother Tindall and her daughters, but I should like the two addresses given as Knapton Hall, near Malton, Yorkshire, and Long Westgate, Scarborough. They occupied both houses, Knapton Hall being the country home, and Long Westgate was lived in, in the winter months. The house in Long Westgate, with the fine view and sloping garden, was not called The White House till later, when John Tindall faced it with white bricks. It was occupied by the Tindall family till after 1870.

Isabella Mackiver = John Tindall, of Knapton Hall and Long Westgate, died 20th November, 1809.

several sons	Jane d. unm.	Ann d. unm.	Isabella = Edward Harris of Stoke Newington.	Sarah = Fredk. Janson; lived in William Allen's former home in Church Street, Stoke Newington.

We are glad to present this stirring event from another point of view. See xviii. 29.

Isabella Harris to her Sisters, Jane, Ann and Sarah Tindall, dated 1 mo. 30, 1827 :

. . . How the matter will terminate with W. Allen and G. Birkbeck, we cannot yet tell. Some think it impossible they can proceed in opposition to public opinion, while others advise them going forward, as it has been named at all. They are really placed in it in a peculiarly humiliating and trying situation being the butt of ridicule, and the pens of several have become active in composing sarcastic verses for the occasion. Some one has been at the trouble to have one long piece lithographed and numerously circulated.

It is really painful to see two such characters so played upon as they are. If they say, as they both do, that they have believed it a right step

for them to take, they are only laughed at and no better motive than money is allowed for W. A., while they admit that love is G. B.'s etc., etc. [*sic*] too ridiculous all to retail.

Whether this storm can arise from the thing being wrong, whether from the fury of our grand Adversary or may be permitted for their humiliation, or perhaps, other wise ends that we cannot see, we must leave; but really it is in a state that now gives one painful uneasiness, and, situated in the midst of it as we are, we cannot but deeply feel with the parties concerned.

William Allen says it is a thing he has looked at for the last 2 years, and it has always turned up in his mind with peace; that it has been the subject of his fervent prayers that he might not be suffered to do wrong, and he thinks the evidence has been as clear in this as in many other instances wherein he has believed himself rightly led.

I think you are aware that the committee that met could not take upon themselves to say it was wrong, but recommended them to reconsider the matter before they proceeded.

Thomas and R. Christy have been much opposed to it and on sixth day week, Rebecca came, intending to reason with G. Birkbeck and tell her fully her mind respecting it.

Betsy Fry met her and William Allen also, spent the day with them in Paradise Row. After it, R. Christy told Susanna Corder that they passed such a sweet day together, they scarcely knew how to separate. They did not leave them till 8 o'clock, "and, oh!" she said, "I wish the world could see the sweet and tender state in which G. B., in which they both are, I am sure it would melt the hardest heart. They are in a far better state than any of us, and whichever way it terminates. I believe it will be right; as to the matter itself they are quite undecided, desiring nothing but the Divine Will in it."

Since this time we have not conversed with either of them on the subject. I have been only once at each house since the matter transpired for I feel it best to keep quietly at home, and have but little to say in any way. I have seen scarcely anything of the Bradshaws since.

James[1] is quite the champion for the Newington couple, but he almost stands alone in their defence.

The same to the same, not dated:[2]

William Allen and Grizell Birkbeck have come to the conclusion of passing our M. Meeting on 4th day, but this intention is known only to their immediate circle at present. It continues to be a subject of painful animadversion, but you will be able to hear all particulars from F. [Frederick Janson] better than I can write them.

G. Birkbeck paid S. Corder a visit yesterday, which she says is the only house, with the exception of her own, she has been in of a month.

[1] Probably the writer's brother, James Tindall.

[2] From internal evidence, the letter was written early in 2 mo., 1827.

The death of John Corder[3] prompted her to this exertion, to sympathize with poor Susanna. He breathed his last on 5th day morning and is to be interred on 4th at Epping. After expressing her feeling for Susanna, she freely entered into her own matter, saying she could truly say she felt no less love to any of her friends for the way in which they had taken it up, but on the contrary increased for those who had opposed it. She seems to have no doubt in her own mind of its being a right step; and this they both say, which no doubt bears them out tho' what they have to pass through is truly humiliating.

The same to the same, dated 16 3mo. 1827:

William Allen's furniture is now moving from the house [taken by Frederick Janson, in Church Street, Stoke Newington] to Lindfield where he has built a residence and he and his bride have gone there for a few days previous to their settling down together in Paradise Row.

The marriage was solemnized at Hammersmith on 4th day [14 iii. 1827], which, I understand was a satisfactory meeting. The company all dispersed but five, who dined at the Inn, where a dinner was ordered for any who inclined.

Five or six ridiculous caricatures are exhibited in the shop-windows, but I should hope it will settle now that the marriage is performed.

The same to the same, dated 19 and 20 iii. 1827:

I expect William and Grizell Allen will come home to dinner to-day, after their little journey to Lindfield and to Brighton.

Catherine Bradshaw called here this morning on her way to Tottenham to dine with M. Woods. Anna B. is gone to Lindfield and Maria takes her departure for Ireland, while Eliza and Lucy are left in Paradise Row to receive the couple.[4]

[3] John Corder died 1 ii. 1827, aged 68. He was uncle to Susanna Corder.

[4] Catherine Bradshaw may have been the wife of Joseph Hoare Bradshaw (1784-1845), *née* Catherine Stewart (1799-1870).

The five nieces living with Grizell Birkbeck were Sarah (*c.*1778-1855), Anna (*c.*1783-1856, married Joseph Pease, Senr., of Darlington), Grizell Maria (1785-1848, d. in Ireland), Eliza (1790-1841), and Lucy (1792-1862), daughters of Thomas Bradshaw and Sarah Hoare, sister of Grizell Hoare—Birkbeck—Allen. They were aunts of Henry Bradshaw (1831-1886), Cambridge University Librarian (see xviii. 39). Of Lucy Bradshaw it was said in the *Annual Monitor:* "Her filial attentions soothed the latter years of the life of her dear uncle, William Allen, in whose works of benevolence she largely participated."

In one of the above-mentioned caricatures a procession, headed by W.A. and G.B. in hilarious mood, is closed by five young women weeping bitterly.

Hoare MSS. in J. J. Green Collection in D, etc.

I think I told you the Meeting was very satisfactory at Hammersmith. T. Foster, who is their staunch friend, told me I ought to have been there, it would have done me good to my heart's core! Rachel [? Christy] says she never sat in a more agreeable meeting. E. Hanbury also said it was all that they could wish. I sincerely hope they may be blessed in their union.

20th. The Bride and Bridegroom came before 10 to pay us a morning call, so they do not stand on much ceremony. G. A. enquired very particularly after you all and was glad to hear of your welfare. It sounds so odd to hear "Cousin W.A." converted into "Husband."

An account of Y.M. 1827 states:

W. and G. Allen have lodgings in Leadenhall Street, which leaves Plough Court to Cornelius Hanbury, etc. We hear that Wm. and G. Allen have had many visitors at their lodging. Their marriage is much more leniently treated by country Friends than by Londoners. A good deal has been said on tale-bearing in our meetings.

Friends' Relief Work

"The other bright gleam on the dark sky-line of European politics in these years will be the Society of Friends. The Quakers have done infinite things for the relief of distress in Europe. A gallant young soldier told me of the strength he received whenever he saw set up on a hut somewhere in France, "Société des Amis." In every big city and in countless little villages of Europe their work has been quietly and persistently carried on without noise and self-advertisement, with no looking for praise, and no expectation of reward. It began with the war. It has been carried on during the peace. Many workers have died of their labours, poisoned with typhus germs or collapsed from overwork. Hundreds of thousands of sufferers will live to bless them, who would have died but for their work. Countless little children have been saved alive or preserved from stunted manhood or womanhood through them. Their selfless devotion has softened the cruel impressions made by the war. Their presence amongst the defeated has saved from utter hate and despair many of those who pictured the foe to themselves as wholly given up to revenge. To the Friends must be given the credit for the preservation of such little faith and idealism as may still be left in Europe."

From *A Political Pilgrim in Europe*, by Mrs. Philip Snowden, London, 1921.

Treffry, of Devon and Cornwall

THE gift to the Reference Library of a pamphlet bearing the following title *A Dissertation on Smut-Balls amongst Wheat and other Grain*, by Roger Treffry, of Beer Barton, near Plymouth, Devon, 1793 (Haydon, Clarence Press, Plymouth), has drawn our attention to this family and we think it well to place on record the result of our enquiries.

The registers of Cornwall Q.M. do not appear to give the date of the birth of Roger Treffry, though at an earlier date the name "Trefry"[1] appears among the births and burials of "Austle Monthly Meeting," but, in 1770, Roger Treffry (*c.* 1746-1818) married Mary Veale (*c.* 1750-1830), of "Austle" and had a numerous family. Roger and Mary resided at Penryn until about 1780, when they moved northward to Beer Ferris in Devonshire. Roger was a farmer and his *Dissertation* shows his knowledge of wheat-growing in widely separated parts of the country.

It is curious that for years before the pamphlet on Smut-balls was received in **D**, the Library was in possession, among John Thompson MSS., of a copy of a letter on the subject written by Roger Treffry to William Morton Pitt, from Beer Barton, 28th 11 mo., 1795. The letter opens: "To Wm. Morton Pitt, Esq., Esteemed Friend," and proceeds:

> I think it was about a year since I took the Liberty of addressing thee on the subject of Smut amongst Wheat, &c. If not too presuming I shall be thankful for a few lines to inform me whether the Board of Agriculture thinks my Discovery of Importance enough to the Nation to recommend it to the Public, or to merit a Reward. . . .
>
> If the Board should be inclined to make what I have written on the subject public they may fully depend on what I have advanced being strictly true—and whether they be disposed to grant me any reward or not, I shall have the satisfaction of having communicated both the Cause and the Remedy for Smut-balls amongst wheat and Smut of both kinds amongst Barley and Oats; which, on conversing with several Thousands

[1] The name is pronounced Tref-fry'.

of Farmers on the subject (many in almost every County in England), I never found one who *fully* knew the Cause (and but one near it) or a certain Remedy, which without knowing the Cause could not be obtained. . . .

I beg leave to subscribe my self with respect,

Thy obliged Friend,

RGR. TREFFRY.

The copy occupies five folio pages of paper. The result of this appeal does not appear.

The oldest son of Roger and Mary Treffry was Joseph Treffry (I.) (1771-1851), and another son was Samuel (1773-1850). A son, Robert (1772-1832), married Sarah Bawden of Looe, in 1822, and a daughter, Sarah (1780-1856), married Benjamin Fox (*c.* 1776-1853),[2] of Stoke, near Plymouth, in 1800.

Joseph Treffry (I.), was born at Penryn, and, at the time of his marriage in 1800 with Susanna Browne (*c.* 1766-1843), was described as corn-factor, of Plymouth. They had, apparently, two sons—Joseph (II.) (1801-), and Joshua (1802-1873). Joseph Treffry (I.) was an Elder among Friends, as was also Susanna.

Joseph Treffry (I.) was a man after the F.H.S. Editor's own heart, as the following original letter (in **D**) will make evident:

Plymouth.

18 of 11 mo., 1843.

GEORGE CROSFIELD.

DEAR FRIEND.

I think I shall not be quite satisfied if I refrain from telling thee, how much I have been gratified in perusing thy late work—"Memoir of Samuel Fothergill." It is indeed a valuable addition to our biographical reading, uniting useful information with pleasing instruction—or, to use the language of this valued Friend with a slight variation, it is calculated to "strengthen the Aged—to animate the Middle aged, and encourage the youth," to walk and to persevere in the same course which brought our Friend to such a triumphant close.

The letters of other Friends as well as S.F.'s inserted in the work, appear to me to contain much solid instruction. The sentiments of individuals differently circumstanced, concurring as they do in their faith and belief of those Christian doctrines, which from the first rise of the Society distinguished it from all others, is truly confirming—clearly showing, that *Truth* in every age is unchangeably the same, and I believe

[2] *Fox of St. Germains*, p. 7, gives "1856, aged 80," which is incorrect.

will remain so, when the names of those who have opposed it, shall cease to be remembered.

The short biographical notices of individuals introduced into the work, appear to me, to add much to its value.

I take leave to hint to my Friend, that should a second Edition be called for—which I think is very likely to be the case—that an index to at least, its prominent parts would add to its usefulness. And if it could be printed in a less expensive form, so as to bring it within the reach of almost every family, it would be very desirable.

And whilst on the subject of Biography, I will just say, that for many years I have been desirous of seeing a good "Biographical Dictionary" of members of our Society, compiled somewhat on the plan, but containing more copious information as "Watkins Biographical, Historical and Chronological Dictionary"—I think such a work is much wanted. The Articles might be written somewhat in the manner of those introduced in S.F.'s Memoirs. There is a large store of materials, from which such a work might be compiled, such as Sewels, Goughs and Rutty's Histories, The Journals and Memoirs of Friends, Memorials of deceased Ministers, both here and in America (some that have been printed and some that I suppose lie buried in the accumulated Records of the Yearly Meeting), "Piety Promoted," &c., &c.

I have mentioned the subject to many Friends during the last 10 years, but I have not found one willing to undertake it, and indeed few are qualified for such a work. I should be sorry to see it undertaken by any, but an *orthodox* friend. I think from the specimen my friend George Crosfield has just given, he may be safely and properly intrusted with it, and I shall be pleased if the subject engages thy attention. I have no doubt but it would be remunerative in a pecuniary point of view, but at any rate, if published by subscription, there would be no loss.

I do hope thou wilt excuse these observations as I can assure thee they are made with a sincere goodwill to the cause. I shall be pleased to be kindly remembered to thy wife—and if convenient to my valued friends, Thomas and Elizabeth Robson—With love also to thyself I remain

thy affectionate Friend,

JOSEPH TREFFRY.

The second edition of *Samuel Fothergill* (1857) is smaller in size and has an "Index to Correspondence."

It is curious that a few days ago we added to MSS. in **D** a letter from Thomas Hodgkin to J. J. Green, dated 3rd August, 1895, on the subject of a Biographical Dictionary, in which he wrote:

I should think the best plan would be to obtain a certain number (say at least 1000) of promises to subscribe and then to issue the work in quarterly parts like the Dictionary of National Biography.

The material for such, vastly increased since 1848 *and yet more since* 1895, *still awaits the skilful workers and the patronage of the Quaker and general public.*

Joseph Treffry (I.) appeared in print in *Strictures on a late Publication, entitled "A Remonstrance to the Society of Friends,"* a forty-four page pamphlet, printed in 1836, at the time of the Beacon Controversy, in the writing of which he was helped by William Collier. Both pamphlets were issued anonymously, but J. T. soon revealed the author of *A Remonstrance* to be Benjamin Wills Newton,[3] a strong evangelical, who charged Friends with Socinianism, which charge Treffry refuted. Regarding his *Strictures*, J. Treffry wrote a letter to Thomas Thompson, of Liverpool, dated from Plymouth, 15 v. 1849, and enclosed several pamphlets knowing that his friend was a collector of Quaker literature (original letter in **D**). Newton replied in his *Vindication of "A Remonstrance,"* 1836.

Of Joshua Treffry (1802-1873), second son of Joseph (I.), we have glimpses in a Testimony issued by his friends and printed with the Y.M. Proceedings of 1874. He was a Recorded Minister and visited most of the Meetings of Friends between the years 1845 and 1847. On retiring from business as a tea-merchant he resided with his father till the latter's death in 1851. He often visited his brother Joseph (II.), a corn-merchant in Liverpool. He suffered much from "great sensitiveness and a constitutional tendency to depression." He died unmarried, and his remains were interred at St. Austell.

By kindness of Elizabeth Fardon, of St. Austell,

3 Benjamin Wills Newton (1807-*c.* 1899) came of Quaker stock. He was noted as a leader among a section of the Plymouth Brethren in opposition to John Nelson Darby (1800-1882). Both men constantly appear in W. Blair Neatby's *History of the Plymouth Brethren*, 1901, and later edition. There is a reference to Newton in the privately printed memoirs of Frederick Prideaux (1817-1891):

". . . More fruitful intellectually was the time spent with Mr. Benjamin Wills Newton, at Exeter College, Oxford, as a private pupil. Mr. Newton was a man of high Christian character as well as a ripe scholar, and as a tutor did his utmost to draw out and inform the minds of the few young men who read with him."

Save for his time at Oxford, he lived at Plymouth and engaged in religious work.

we are able to give a fuller sketch of the life of Joshua Treffry.

He was a tea-merchant in Plymouth. He had a gift in the ministry early in life and visited, with Minute, almost every Meeting in the Kingdom, but he did not continue to travel in the ministry though he was a powerful Minister to the end of his life. He never married, and when he retired from business, he came to live with Richard Veale, his cousin. He was a very lively energetic man, a strong character and interesting personality. He used to walk out every morning to the British School at Mount Charles, a mile away, just as though he was a paid teacher, and help from 9 to 12 to teach the children. In the afternoons he went to the Union Workhouse to see the children there and the old men; he took sweets for the children and tobacco to the men. He himself did not smoke, but he thought they needed a little comfort in their confinement. The men from the Workhouse, and other townspeople, came to Meeting to hear him preach. He sometimes spoke very decidedly to states of mind; once a man was so impressed with what was said about his condition that he told his neighbours, who came to try what would be said of *them*, but they were disappointed.

Samuel Treffry (1773-1850), second son of Roger and Mary Treffry, was born at Penryn in Cornwall, and removed, *c.* 1780, with his parents to Beer Ferris, Co. Devon. He was educated at the school of John Benwell (*c.* 1749-1824), at Sidcot. In 1799, when he was of Parr, Cornwall, he married Ann Dunsford, of St. Austell, and had several children. He was a recorded Minister. East Devon M.M. issued a Testimony to his life and service.

He wrote in 1838 *Publicans and Sinners' Friend* and in 1847 *Expostulatory Remarks on the Use of Water Baptism.*

There do not appear to be any of the name Treffry among English Friends of to-day but the name still survives in the far West of England. A Quaker family of Treffry emigrated to U.S.A. and Canada. "John Treffry, Junior," of Canada, was one of the signatories to a returning certificate for John Pease in 1844.

Mr. Ralph Marsden, minister of Coley—had one son bred up a scholar; I hear he is now turned Quaker.

OLIVER HEYWOOD, *Diaries*, iv. 10.

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

The Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City, are importers of Friends' literature.

Many of the books in D. may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to the Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

THE latest of William King Baker's books of poetry is entitled *The Loyalists* (London: Routledge, 7½ by 5, pp. 149, 10s. 6d. net). The author has versified "accounts, in their natural setting and language, of the unique character of the first settlement of Canada by its English-speaking population and of the lives of a few of the United Empire Loyalists of Canada at the time of the American Revolution." The story which will give the greatest pleasure is that of Oonama, the Indian maiden, who was adopted by Nathan and Dorothea Chapman, Quakers. The Notes at the end are decidedly useful, explaining customs and methods of early settlers, such as building of log-houses,

> "Roofed with hollow logs of basswood
> Laid alternate troughs and covers,"

for which see pp. 35, 54, 119, 141, and illustration.

There is a long note to the line—

> "In the 'Mayflower' sheltering barn,"

and a view is given of "The Mayflower Barn, Jordans," which indicates full belief in the "discovery" by Dr. Rendel Harris.[1]

In the last volume (xviii. 99) we introduced our readers to a giant among editors and writers—Wilmer Atkinson (1840-1920), of "The Farm Journal," of Philadelphia—we now give a sketch of another American Friend, named Samuel Leeds Allen (1841-1918), of New Jersey, a prince among inventors.

Elizabeth Roberts Allen, of Pocono Manor, Pa., and Hillside, Moorstown, N.J., has presented a copy of her life of her father—*Samuel L. Allen: Intimate Recollections & Letters*, privately printed by the Franklin Printing Company of Philadelphia, 1920, pp. 331 and illustrations.

Samuel Allen was of the seventh generation from Nathaniel Allen who was sent over by William Penn in 1681 as one of the commissioners to purchase land from the Indians and to assist in laying out the city of Philadelphia. On his father's side he also descended from Daniel Leeds. His grandfather, John C. Allen, was a druggist and also a partner in a firm of "cracker bakers, but withdrew at the time of the

[1] On the other hand, in a review of Rendel Harris's "Finding of the *Mayflower*" in the July issue of the "American Historical Review," it is stated: "There is little presented to justify the widely heralded announcement that the timbers of the *Mayflower* have been found in an old English barn."

Civil War feeling he could not be connected with a firm which made articles for the use of the army."

Samuel Allen married, in 1866, Sarah Hooton Roberts (b. 1843). He was then working a farm near Westfield, N.J., having resigned city life and his wife was born on a farm. This experience was to prove most valuable in after life. He had a genius for working out various inventions to save and expedite agricultural labour and to provide means for the increase of youthful pleasure. Of the former the foremost was the production, after many experiments, of a fertilizer drill for spreading guano, which he named the "Planet Drill" from its resemblance to the Planet Saturn and its rings, and of a seed drill which followed which he named "Planet Jr."—this name being now known the world over where agricultural implements are used. The latter resulted in the "Flexible Flyer"—"a completed creation. It was one of those marvels of mechanical simplicity which seem incapable of improvement. In many ways it is the most wonderful of his inventions, for it stands alone as the one steering sled of the continent"—"the grand service that Mr. Allen has given to farmers of the world in his 'Planet Jr.' inventions, and the joy that he has given to the children in 'Flexible Flyers', can never be estimated."

While much space is suitably given to an account of S. Allen's inventions—"there was no end to the original ideas that his fertile brain developed, as is shown by the fact that a bound volume of his patents contains over 500 pages"—this most attractive biography makes mention of various other sides of this versatile Friend. There are chapters on Spiritual Influences—"he was a great business man, a great inventor and a beautiful Christian character"—Our Horses and Dogs, Civic Interests, Fishing, Golf, Educational Views, Family Events and Travel.

The Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, vol. ii., part 3, Oct., 1921, contains, as its first article "Nonconformist Schools under Persecution, 1662-1714." If Quakers be included among Nonconformists much more might have been written, from Quaker sources, on the trials attending the scholastic work of Richard Claridge, William Jenkins and others (THE JOURNAL, iv. 131; etc.).

The second article is a history of "The Christian Brethren Movement," by H. McLachlan, M.A., D.D., in which there is considerable reference to Joseph Barker (1806—*c.* 1875), the founder of this association. He was born near Leeds and died on his estate at Omaha, Nebraska, U.S.A. He was "in turn a lay preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist persuasion, a minister in the New Connexion, and after his expulsion from that body, almost persuaded to be a Quaker, then a heretic of Unitarian opinions, an infidel, and finally a Primitive Methodist."

"To the reading of Clarkson's 'Portraiture of Quakerism,' Barker attributed his views on Infant Baptism. The works of William Penn, especially his 'Sandy Foundation Shaken,' which he afterwards reprinted, he read with great delight.[2] He constantly contrasted Penn's

[2] Barker wrote a life of William Penn in 1846, which formed the second of the "Barker Library" of cheap books.

liberal spirit with that of Gurney and other orthodox Friends. Quakerism, indeed, left a deep impression on his mind, and thro' him on the Christian Brethren Movement. . . . The acceptance of Quaker principles brought him into close relations with many leading Friends like the Backhouses, Peases and Richardsons, and opened to him the doors of Quaker Meeting Houses when those of Methodist Chapels were closed against him."

Barker reckoned the Christian Brethren to be no fewer than thirty to forty thousand at their high-water mark.

"The later history of the Churches is wrapped in obscurity. Many seem to have become associated with the Independent Methodists. Others joined the Bible Christians and the United Methodists. A few returned to the parent body (New Connexion). It lived, however, long enough to spread Unitarian opinions far and wide, and to modify the harsher doctrines of orthodoxy in many a town and village throughout the country."

The same publication refers to the 80th birthday of our friend and F.H.S. member, Alexander Gordon, writer of the "D.N.B." articles on George Fox, James Nayler, etc.

There is a portrait of our Friend, Hon. William Cameron Sproul, Governor of Pennsylvania, in the *Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society of New York*, 1921. Governor Sproul was the "Guest of Honour" at the 22nd annual Dinner of the Society, December 11, 1920.

Thomas H. Stanley (1818-1902) was born of a Quaker family near the town of Salem, Ohio, and in 1837 he entered the Friends' Boarding School at Mount Pleasant. In 1840 he married Mary Wilson, of Woodsfield, O., and a few years later the young couple went west to assist at the Friends' Mission to the Shawnee tribe of Indians, in Kansas, where they remained several years, much beloved by those among whom they lived and worked. In 1845, they returned home to Mount Pleasant, O., and 1852, Thomas paid a visit to the Kaw Indians in Kansas. In 1854, Thomas and Mary Stanley took charge of the newly established White's Manual Labor School near Salem, Iowa. In 1857, they settled among the Kaw Indians, and in 1864 he built a two-storey stone house, near Fruitland, Kansas, which became his home for the remainder of his life and whence he paid many visits to his "Indian children," and also visited the East on their behalf.

The story of his life is well told in a little illustrated book—*Sixty Years among the Indians*—written by his grand-daughter, H. Pearl Dixon. Children, grand-children and great-grand-children have been and are engaged in missionary work.

Agnes Fry, of Failand, Bristol, has presented the Reference Library with a copy of her *Memoir of the Right Honourable Sir Edward Fry, G.C.B., Lord Justice of the Court of Appeal*, etc. (Oxford University Press, 9 by 6, pp. 328, with portrait). The *Memoir* is compiled largely from an

autobiography written for his family, hence we have a very interesting *vie intime* in which we read the writer's views on many subjects, domestic, religious, judicial. Sir Edward Fry (1827-1918) came of a long line of Quaker ancestors, but the peculiarities of "dress and address" which surrounded his early life estranged him to some extent from the faith of his fathers—"produced a chasm in my feelings between myself and systematic Quakerism which I have never got over" (p. 168), and he never took any prominent part in the activities of Quakerism. Of his early days he wrote:

"My religion was then, if you will, rather pagan than Christian [he refers to his reading of Greek and Latin authors]; but as the time went on, I found more and more in the New Testament that which nourished my inward nature" (p. 157).

Vol. 1, no. 1 of *The Woodbrooke Journal*, dated July, 1921, has appeared, full of matter of interest to students past and present. The get-up of the magazine is somewhat commonplace.

**The Year Illustrated* appears once more. It has come out annually since 1909, edited by Samuel Graveson. The frontispiece is a portrait of Princess Mary. There are forty-five illustrations—portraits, cartoons by Raemaekers, Low, and others, and views from all quarters of the globe. The contents include Reviews of the World at Home and Abroad, Those Who have Passed, Our Visitors, Adventurers All, Sport of the Year (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 10 by $7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 180, 5s. net).

Jordans: A Quaker Shrine, Past and Present, with a brief Outline of the Faith, Doctrine and the Practice of the Society of Friends, by Ernest Warner, 1921, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 27, price 1s.

This very attractively produced book should have a wide service. The woodcut of Jordans Meeting House which forms the heading to chapter I. is by the author, who explains at the very outset that "a shrine is a sacred place, a place that becomes holy, not sacred in itself, where Life has been and is dedicated to service and marked by sincerity of sacrifice; a shrine is a place of worship."

Part I.—"The Picture" gives a description and slight history of Jordans and neighbourhood. Part II.—"Figures within the Picture" deals with Penington, Ellwood, Penn. Part III.—"Within the Frame" deals with Quaker faith and practice. The book should be very useful as a souvenir of Jordans and brief exposition of Quakerism.

Our friends of the Wesleyan Conference Office in City Road are preparing for publication *A Catalogue of Wesleyana*, which is to consist of MSS., Letters, Relics, Paintings, Engravings, Books and Pamphlets, Pottery, etc., with facsimile and other illustrations. The edition is to be limited to 250 numbered copies at one guinea each.

* Not in **D.**

Dr. G. C. Williamson, of Hampstead, has put out, through Messrs. Selwyn & Blount, Ltd., of 21, York Buildings, W.C.2, a collection of essays on "Authors, Books and Miniatures," which he entitles *Behind my Library Door* (7¾ by 5¼, pp. 208, 10s. 6d. net). The two chapters of special interest to Friends are: IX. Bradshaw and XII. Some Quaker Watchmakers. The Friends noticed in chapter XII. are thus summed up: "East was the earliest, Tompion perhaps the greatest of his day, Graham produced the most beautiful work, Quare was the most eminent inventor and the person who took the highest position in the society of the day, while Wagstaffe, whose portrait is highly characteristic, was the friend of George Fox and a very popular man" (page 152).

Edward East (*c.* 1617—1701) was watchmaker to Charles II. He was Master of the Clockmakers' Company in 1645 and 1652. His death is recorded in the Friends' Registers.

Thomas Tompion (1638-1713) has been called "the father of English watchmaking." His shop, the Dial and Three Crowns, was in Water Lane, Blackfriars. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

George Graham (1673-1751) was a birthright Friend but left the Society. He was buried in Westminster Abbey in the same tomb as his friend Tompion.

Daniel Quare (*c.* 1648-1723/4) was a well-known and much esteemed Friend, who also "moved in the highest social circle of the day."

Thomas Wagstaffe was born at Banbury in 1724 (and could not therefore have been the friend of Fox as quoted above). "Britten ["Old Clocks and Watches"] states that members of the Society of Friends, when visiting London were accustomed to lodge at Wagstaffe's house, and on their return to America frequently took one of his clocks with them. He adds that there are many long-case clocks by Wagstaffe in America, generally in the possession of Quakers or their descendants."[3] Wagstaffe died in 1802. A silhouette portrait is reproduced and also an account for a watch bought by George Croker Fox in 1777 (both from originals in **D**).

Bernard Thistlethwaite, F. R. Hist. S., of 14, Bath Road, Buxton, author of "The Thistle thwaite Family," 1910, has printed a 4to pamphlet: *Ancestry of Christopher Anthony Michael Thistlethwaite, of Buxton, Co. Derby*, his son (b. 1920). It contains pedigrees of Thistlethwaite, Esthill, Hartas, Dixon, Coates, Stackhouse, Bax, Shaw, Cheal, and Smithson families, and valuable notes.

We hope that there will be a large circulation, among younger Friends especially, of *George Lloyd Hodgkin, 1880-1918*,[4] written by his sister,

[3] It is said that Warner Mifflin painted over the brass faces of the Philadelphia Friends' family clocks because they were "too gay." See "The Friend" (Lond.), 1894, p. 535.

[4] We wish that other biographies gave dates of birth and death on title pages. We reviewed a considerable life-history lately, but could obtain the date of birth from calculation only and quite failed to discover the date of death.

L. Violet Hodgkin (8¼ by 5½, pp. 266, with portraits and map of Australasia, printed for private circulation, but purchasable at the Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, for half-a-guinea). The first sixty pages give "The Story of his Life," in which his gradual acceptance of the Quaker faith, though a birthright member, is full of instruction. Parts II. and III. contain "His Letters and Diaries," and "Short Papers and Fragments."

Recent Accessions to D

IN addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading "Friends and Current Literature," the following items have been added to **D** during the last few months:

Daniel Ricketson and His Friends. Letters, Poems, Sketches, etc., edited by his daughter and son, Anna and Walton Ricketson, Boston and New York, 1902, 397 pages.

D. Ricketson (1813-1898) was a birthright Friend, but was, apparently, somewhat loosely attached to the Society during middle life. In 1862, he wrote:

"I am becoming more and more drawn to the faith of my fathers, who were Friends from the days of George Fox, and so much of the old leaven remains in me that I find myself involuntarily, as it were, drawn into their simple and rational ways of life" (p. 145).

His interests were of a pastoral character, his place of seclusion was a "shanty" near his home, Brooklawn, New Bedford, Mass., and his friends were Henry D. Thoreau, William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, A. Bronson Alcott (father of Louisa Alcott, the author) and others.

In one of the extracts from the Journal of Thoreau, we read:

"R. lives in that part of New Bedford, three miles out of the town, called the Head of the River, *i.e.* the Acushnet River. There is a Quaker meeting-house there. Such an ugly shed, without a tree or bush about it (without steeple, of course), is altogether repulsive to me, like a powder-house or grave. And even the quietness and perhaps unworldliness of an aged Quaker has something ghostly and saddening about it—as it were a mere preparation for the grave" (page 336).

Elizabeth Allen Satterthwait, of 118, Waverley Place, Webster Groves, Mo., has presented a copy of a collection of her poems, entitled *A Gentle Heart.* Out of a considerable variety of subjects versified, we select the following which will appeal to our housekeeper-readers:

"BREAK, BREAK, BREAK.

"An Adaptation.

"Break, break, break,
Another dish smashed I see!
And I would that my tongue could utter
The thoughts that arise in me.

"Oh, the wretched, careless maid,
That heeds not what you say!
Oh, thoughtless the maid that sings
As soon as you turn away!

"So our very best dishes pass on
To the ash-barrel near the back door;
But oh for the use of a full dozen plates,
And the dish that is no more!

"Break, break, break,
On the rocks of the household sea!
But the delicate grace of a dish that is gone
Will never come back to me."

A Walk from London to John O'Groat's, by Elihu Burritt, 2nd ed., London, 1864, presented by J. Edmund Clark. There are five references to members of the Society of Friends, but in four cases, alas! the names are not given, though one was of Kelvedon (p. 9), one of Coggeshall (p. 43), one at Bardfield (p. 46), and one of Saffron Walden (p. 66). The last Friend is treated better, being Anthony Cruickshank (*c.* 1813-1879), of Sittyton, in Aberdeenshire, "the owner of the largest herd of Shorthorns in the world" (p. 342), and a draper of Aberdeen. To him the last chapter of the book is devoted.

Thomas Reed Dyne, of Grays, Essex, has presented several letters to his father, William Dyne, on his liberation from the Army, written by Benjamin Bishop, Rachel Rickman (both blind Friends), Peter Bedford and John Hodgkin. He has also sent for preservation printed notices of several of William Dyne's inventions.

A valuable collection of ancient Quaker MSS. has recently been presented to **D** by the exors. of the late Sarah Ann Pease, of Bristol. We hope to refer to this collection shortly in some detail.

Samuel Emlen.—Charles Williams to the widow of Samuel L. Allen: "I well remember thy husband coming to our home to tea to meet Cousin Samuel Emlen, who was in the firm of Graham, Emlen & Passmore, who were then in the height of success from the manufacture of the 'Philadelphia Lawn Mower.' I well remember his remark after the interview. He said: 'The secret of their success is that every person with a little grass plot in the backyard needs a lawn mower, but they don't need a seed drill.' But he [Samuel L. Allen] was able to find out and see what people did need and then provide it, and prove their need and make it a little better than the other fellow and thus insure successful and continuous sale in spite of close and cheap competition." (*Samuel L. Allen*, 1920, p. 100.)

Passed for press 1st February, 1922.

Vol. XIX. No. 2 1922

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editor: Norman Penney, F.S.A.
Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2

For Table of Contents see page two of cover

Leading the Way

BEING a Series of brief Sketches of Quaker Inventions and of Friends who led the Way in various Directions.[1]

I

Abraham Darby (1677-1717), iron manufacturer; patented a method of casting iron-ware in sand, 1708.
D.N.B.

II

Abraham Darby (1711-1763), son of the above, devised, when manager of the Coalbrookdale Ironworks, a method of smelting iron-ore by the use of coke. "For many years unsuccessful experiments were made in smelting iron with coal, but at last, about 1735, Abraham Darby, a Quaker ironmaker from Dudley, read the riddle and succeeded in smelting the iron properly with coal, at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire." (*The British Hive and its Working Bees*, by H. C. Miall Smith.)
D.N.B.

III

Abraham Darby (1750-1791), son of the preceding, manager of the Coalbrookdale Ironworks; built across the Severn at Coalbrookdale, the first iron bridge ever

[1] The Editor would be glad to receive information regarding other Quaker inventions, etc., or of other claimants to any of the inventions or positions here introduced. The length of the Sketch bears no proportion to the importance of the invention.

constructed (opened in 1779) for which he received the gold medal of the Society of Arts.

D.N.B.; *Jnl.* x. 79.

IV

JOHN THOMAS (1690-1760) assisted Abraham Darby (I) in an iron and brass founder's business in Bristol. After many failures and disappointments Darby and his man succeeded in producing round metal pots such as had previously been made only in Holland and for which Darby took out a patent in 1707.

Jnl. xvii. 31.

V

WARNER MIFFLIN (1745-1798) was, according to Thomas Clarkson, "the first man in America to unconditionally emancipate his slaves."

Life and Ancestry of Warner Mifflin, Phila. 1905.

VI

JOSIAH WHITE (1781-1850), of New Jersey, made great improvements in using anthracite coal for making iron. "The first boat-load of iron from the Lehigh Iron Works shipped to Philadelphia, arrived in August, 1840, about six weeks after the furnace was put in blast, on which the *North American* of that city remarks: 'It is the opinion of those best qualified to judge in relation to such matters, that the new application of the anthracite, with which our mountains abound, forms an era in the history of Pennsylvania of which it would be difficult to over-estimate the importance.'" (*Memoir of Josiah White*, Phila. 1873, p. 103.) "He did much to develop the material resources of Pennsylvania, despite much doubt and opposition." (*Jnl.* xvi. 40.)

VII

JOSEPH, LORD LISTER (1827-1912), discoverer of the antiseptic system of surgery: the application of which completely revolutionised surgical treatment in the latter half of the nineteenth century.—*Life*, by Sir R. J. Godlee, 1917.

VIII

JOSHUA WATSON (1772-1853), "on his seventy-eighth birthday, crossed the High Level Railway Bridge (then in course of construction) from Gateshead to Newcastle, walking part of the way on planks ; and he was told at the Newcastle side, by Robert Stephenson that he was the first man who had done this." (*Robert Spence Watson*, 1914, p. 15.)

IX

MOSES PENNOCK (1786-1860), of Pa., was "the inventor of the revolving horse-rake, patented in 1822, and of the discharge hay-rake, 1824." (*The Quaker*, Phila. vol. i. (1920), p. 87.)

X

BENJAMIN BEALE (-), of Margate, invented several varieties of bathing machine, *circa* 1750. It is claimed for them that "the pleasure and advantages of sea-bathing may be enjoyed in a manner consistent with the most refined delicacy." (*Jnl.* vi. 176, with illustration.) There are other claimants to the honour of the invention. (*Daily Chron.*, Jan. 20th, 1912.)

Beale was also an inventor of a light carriage for the conveyance of passengers between Margate and Canterbury. James Jenkins gives an amusing account of the meeting of his carriage with one belonging to a rival owner. (*Records*, p. 758.)

XI

ROBERT RANSOME (1753-1830) was "a man of great ingenuity, of an active turn of mind, and, possessing considerable skill as a workman, he made improvements in ploughs. Having in 1789 removed from Norwich to Ipswich, he took out a patent for chill-cast ploughshares, and thus laid the foundation for the manufacture of plough shares destined to all parts of the world." (*Biog. Cata. of Friends' Institute, London*, 1888, p. 545.) *Jnl.* XV. 111.

XII

WILLIAM ROTCH (1734-1828) was the owner of the first ship to display the American flag in British waters.

Jones, *William Rotch*, 1901.

XIII

JOHN STEAD (1710-1779), of Yorkshire, "though possessed of very little school learning, became a clever and ingenious man," and it is said, "invented the barley mill for taking the skin off barley to prepare it for the pot . . . Whilst residing in Gateshead, he invented a machine for cutting timber and other purposes by the help of the fire-engine." (*Annals of the Richardsons*, 1850, p. 47.)

XIV

JOHN DALTON (1766-1844) "discovered the law of chemical combinations and tabulated the atomic weights of various elements, 1805." (*D.N.B.*)

XV

ARTHUR ALBRIGHT (1811-1900) was the first to produce on a commercial scale the substance known as amorphous phosphorus, used in the manufacture of safety matches.

Arthur Albright, no date, p. 49; *The Friend* (Lond.), 1900, p. 520.

XVI

GEORGE DIXON (1731/2-1785), of Cockfield, Co. Durham, claimed "to have been the first to use coal gas for illuminating purposes, but he was a quiet, retiring man, and did not push his discovery to a practical result." (*My Ancestors*, by Norman Penney, 1920, p. 189—this book records some of Dixon's dangerous experiments in pursuit of his object.)

XVII

JOHN HUSTLER (1768-1842) "was a noted farmer and is supposed to have been the first man to use bones as a fertiliser." (*The Friend* (Lond.), 1921, p. 132.)

XVIII

SAMUEL WETHERILL (1736-1816) and CHRISTOPHER MARSHALL (1709-1797)[2] established "the first factory for weaving cloth in the American colonies. The cloth woven

[2] Dates and other particulars supplied by courtesy of a descendant, Charles Marshall, 235 West Chelton Avenue, Germantown, Pa.

by this factory was also supplied to the army, and it is said that a timely shipment of these supplies to the little army of Washington at Valley Forge saved it from disbanding." (*History of the Free Quakers*, 1894, p. 16.)

XIX

SAMUEL FROTHERINGHAM (-1745) was a Friend, of Holbeach, Co. Lincoln. "He was the first man in England who invented a clock with two minute hands, one showing the true time and the other the apparent time." (*Jnl.* ix. 93.)

Britten's *Old Clocks and Watches*, 1911, states that "John Berridge made a clock with compensated pendulum in 1738 to the order of Mr. F[r]otheringham, a Quaker of Lincolnshire."

XX

R. AND J. LECKY, of Ireland, built the first screw steamer, the *Rattler*, in 1846, "which at once focussed the attention of the propeller as a new means of propulsion and went far to establish its use in the mercantile marine." (Barry, *History of Port of Cork Steam Navigation*, 1919, pp. 4, 47.)

The same firm built "the first double dredger built in the United Kingdom having a chain of buckets on each side." (*Ibid.* p. 5.)

XXI

THOMAS MOORE (1760-1822), of Sandy Spring, Md., was "the inventor of the first refrigerator, for which he took out a patent in the year 1803. The first refrigerator was of small size, made for the purpose of carrying butter to market on horseback. The State of Maryland is greatly indebted to him for many improvements in agriculture." (*Friends' Intelligencer*, Phila. 1912, p. 485.)

XXII

TANGYE BROTHERS, of the Cornwall Works, Birmingham, were the inventors of the hydraulic jack. It was used to launch the *Great Eastern* in 1857 (as put by Sir Richard Tangye—"We launched the *Great Eastern*

and the *Great Eastern* launched us "), and also to raise Cleopatra's Needle to its position on the Thames Embankment, after it had been brought from Egypt by John Dixon and his brother, Waynman Dixon, both descendants of Friends. (*My Ancestors*, by Norman Penney, 1920, pp. 197-200).

XXIII

John Lees (-) "invented the perpetual revolving cloth, called a feeder, on which a given weight of cotton wool was spread, and by which it was conveyed to the cylinder. This was in 1772. He successfully proved in evidence in a trial against Sir Richard Arkwright's patent on June, 25th, 1785, that he was the inventor of the feeder." (Ward, *Retrospect of Oldham Meeting*, 1911, p. 35.)

XXIV

John Fowler (1826-1864), " inventor of the steam plough ; with Albert Fry conducted experiments at Bristol, from which resulted the drain plough, 1850 ; . . his steam cultivator, improved in 1860 ; . . . . took out thirty-two patents for himself and partners, 1850-1864." (*D.N.B.*) There is in **D** a *Catalogue of Prices and Particulars of Steam Ploughs, sold by John Fowler, Jun., 28, Cornhill, London* ; manufactured by R. Stephenson and Co., Newcastle, and Ransomes and Sims, Ipswich ; with lithographs.

John Fowler married, in 1857, Elizabeth Lucy Pease, daughter of Joseph Pease, M.P., of Darlington.

XXV

Job Roberts (*c.* 1756-1851) was known as " The Pennsylvania Farmer." " As a pioneer in advanced agriculture, he stood easily foremost in the State of Pennsylvania, for the time in which he lived, and it may safely be stated that no man in this Commonwealth, since his death, has *originated* as many important improvements in agriculture as he did during his long and useful life. . . He lived long enough to see his inventions extensively used and highly commended." (*Life of Samuel J. Levick*, Phila. 1896, p. 375.)

XXVI

WILLIAM CHAPMAN was born at Whitby in 1713 and died at Newcastle in 1793. " He spent some years as the captain of a merchant ship, and in one of his voyages . . . . in September, 1757, having run short of water, he discovered and applied successfully the conversion of salt into fresh water." (*Whitby Authors*, 1867, p. 20.)

XXVII

FRANK J. RUSSELL (*c.* 1870-1914), of Maryland, was " an inventor of electrical safety appliances for ships, and other electrical devices." (*Friends' Intelligencer*, Phila. 1914, p. 124.)

XXVIII

JAMES NICHOLSON RICHARDSON (1818-1896), of Ireland, inaugurated the system of carrying steerage passengers at about £5 per head from Liverpool to Philadelphia, a sum then considered to be such a low figure that it would prove unpopular. However, the capital accommodation and food provided, so vastly superior to the old emigrant ships, attracted such crowds of emigrants and others that it proved a great success and other companies soon followed suit.

Jnl. xvii. 111.

XXIX

PHILIP EVAN THOMAS (1776-1861), originator and first president of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road, organised, in 1828, the first railroad company in the United States. (See page 11).

XXX

EDWARD BENNIS (1838-1918) took an active interest in the mechanical firing of boilers. He succeeded, after laborious and lengthy experiments, in inventing a self-clearing furnace and thereby effecting a complete revolution in machine-firing.

Jnl. xviii. 114.

XXXI

ISAAC BRIGGS, A.M., F.A.P.S. (1763-1825), was born of Quaker parents at Haverford, Pa. His father, SAMUEL BRIGGS, was the inventor of a machine for making

nails (1791), and his brother, SAMUEL BRIGGS, took out a patent for the application of steam to machinery and used it successfully (1803). Isaac was a mathematician, astronomer, surveyor, and engineer. He surveyed and laid out the city of Washington. President Jefferson wrote of him in 1803 : " In point of science he was second to no man in the United States." (Article by Ella K. Barnard in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. vii. 1912, p. 409.)

An address, by Isaac Briggs, dated " Utica, 10 mo. 29, 1817," delivered before the Oneida Society for the Promotion of American Manufactures, is in **D.**

XXXII

JOHN FRY WILKEY (1799-1884) was a Minister, of Exeter, who married into the Gregory and Dymond families. It is presumed that he was the Friend who was the inventor of " Wilkey's Patent Trirota," of which an illustrated prospectus is in **D.** This broadside begins :

" The object of this Invention is the production of a Carriage combining the lightness of draught of a two-wheeled Vehicle, with the security in case of the horse falling, possessed by a four-wheeled Carriage."

It concludes :

" Coach Builders may obtain licenses on application to the Patentee, J. F. Wilkey, Mount Vernon, Exeter."

XXXIII

We are reminded by the previous Sketch of another Friend, well-estemeed in his day, JOSEPH STORRS FRY (1769-1835), of Bristol. He wrote : *An Essay on the Construction of Wheel-Carriages, as they affect both the Roads and the Horses, with Suggestions . . . as to Tolls and . . . the Formation of Roads* (London, 1820, 145 pp., copy in **D**). He also wrote a pamphlet *On the Necessity of Freedom from Sin in this Life*, thus illustrating the happy blending of " secular " and " religious " so often found among Friends.

XXXIV

THOMAS CLARKE WORSDELL (*c.* 1789-1862) was a coach-builder, of London, and later, of Liverpool, who,

through the influence of James Cropper, was entrusted with the construction of the first passenger carriage of the new line between Liverpool and Manchester. He had three sons, Nathaniel, Thomas and George.

XXXV

NATHANIEL WORSDELL (1809-1886) was the inventor of the method, now in universal use, for picking up or dropping mailbags without stoppage of the train. He assisted to set up the "Rocket" and to construct its wooden tender. He was a Minister in the Society of Friends.

XXXVI

THOMAS WORSDELL (1818-1893), when of the age of sixteen, won a prize of £200 offered for the best model of a carriage to be adopted by the London and Birmingham Railway, then being built. In the model the screw coupling, the lad's own invention, was first employed. Later, after work on German lines, he established a business in Birmingham in which he trained as assistants the brothers Tangye.

XXXVII

GEORGE WORSDELL (1821-1912), the third son, established himself at Warrington and by his business energy and foresight largely contributed to the industrial prosperity of the town. There is an account of him and the above members of the family in the *Liverpool Post*, Dec. 3rd., 1912.

XXXVIII

DOROTHY MADISON (1768-1849) was the wife of James Madison, fourth President of the United States. At the request of Professor Morse, she sent the first real message over the wires from Washington to Baltimore, 24th May, 1844, "Message from Mrs. Madison. She sends her love to Mrs. Wethered." Mary Thomas Wethered was a daughter of Philip E. Thomas (XXIX.).

Dorothy Payne, Quakeress, by Ella Kent Barnard, 1901.

To be continued

Faith Healing the Sick

A SHEET of paper, much worn by time, covered with the handwriting of George Fox, has recently been acquired by the Reference Library, with other valuable MSS., from the family of the late Right Hon. William Edward Forster.

It is endorsed in another hand :

"The testimonie of Gyles Kendall of Glostersher concerning the word of the Lord and his being healed by his beleife therein."

jeles kendall in glostersher was broken in his bely 4 yere & in great sorrow & misery & as hee was diging in his garding in great paine he cryed vnto the lord & said if hee wovld but speake the word he beleaved he should be well & the lord anserd him & emedeatly hee was well & came a foovt above 20 miles to woster to viset g. ff.[1] in presen an ovld man ner seventy & farther the said jeles kendall said that ther was won sicke & the[y] said that hee wovld dey & jeld said he belevd that he wovld not dy & he was movesed to pray for him & did be leve & had faith in god that the lord wovld her him & the lord did & the sicke did recoveser & did not dy & he alsoe spake of a nother that was sick which he had feath for & did recover this jeles spake to mee in woster presen mo: 10: day 30: 1674.

Further information respecting Giles Kendall is not at present available.

For "remarkable cures," see Camb. *Jnl.* i. 420, 433, and Index (ii. 511), also A. N. Brayshaw, *The Personality of George Fox*, Appendix B.

"Antinomian views. These were the principles of Mr. Taylor, the minister at Chapel-en-le-Brears, who became at length a professed Quaker."

HEYWOOD, *Diaries*, iv. 7, refering to Christopher Taylor.

[1] The word "mee" was first written by Fox. This has been cossed through and the initials written above by him.

Edward Haistwell's Diary of the Travels of George Fox, 1677, 1678

SEVERAL valuable manuscripts were acquired by the Devonshire House Reference Library a few months ago, at the dissolution of the library once the property of William Edward Forster (1818-1886). Among them was a little volume bearing the title: "A short journall of G: F:s Travells in the Service of the Lord (with a short Relation of passages) since hee came from Swarthmoore on the 26th day of the first month, 1677," and inscribed: "This for his Esteemed and welbeloved Friend (and MASTER) GEORGE FOX. Edward Haistwell." The book is oblong in shape and contains 121 written pages, each measuring 7⅞ ins. by 3 ins. It is bound in a piece of vellum once part of an illuminated Latin document and has a tuck fastener.

The first entry is dated 26 1mo., 1677, and the last is dated 24 4mo., 1678. This period is dealt with in the printed *Journal* (bi-cent.ed.), vol. ii. pp. 255-330, and may be given thus, in brief: From Swarthmoor through the Midlands to London, 3 mo., 1677. In London till 5 mo. In Holland from 5 mo. to 8 mo. In London and then through Bucks, Oxon, Berks and Wilts to Bristol, 11 mo. Through Glos. Worcs. Warwicks, Oxon, Bucks, Beds, and Herts to London, 3 mo. In London to 4 mo.

But little is at present known of Edward Haistwell (or Haistwhittle). He styles G. Fox "master" and it is evident that he travelled with him as amanuensis. He is mentioned, but not by name, in *The Journal*, bi-cent. vol. ii. p. 281, as "a young man who travelled with me and used to write for me" and it is evident from a note to the Camb. *Journal* (ii. 391) that he had some part in the preparation of the material for the Ellwood *Journal*. In his Diary, Haistwell frequently uses the pronoun "wee," but, apparently, the omission of this does not necessarily imply his absence from the travelling band. We do not find it used anywhere as he describes his master's London work. Haistwell was with the Friends who travelled in Holland, though not named in *The Journal*. At Embden he was taken ill and had to be left behind at the house of Claes Jhon Foeldricke, the father-in-law of Jan Claus. In the margin of page 42 he inserted: "at this Embden, I E. H. lay sick till my dear mr G F had been at Fredrickstat." and in a parenthesis in the text he refers to his illness, adding: "and G ff took an Account of his passages wch are as followeth till hee came to Embden again." This "Account," has been copied by Haistwell into its place in the journey, but we do not know who wrote the original. It takes up thirteen pages. The word "I" now appears ("I to witt G ff"); the spelling adheres to that of Haistwell.

On the 4th of 7 mo., G ff concludes:

"Wee took boat at Leier about ye 4 hour in ye Morninge and came to Embden Citty againe (where I left Edward sick:)" Cp. bi-cent. ii. 281.

The Diary continues: "I take a Journall again as followeth." Dependence upon records is evident again later, when the Diarist introduces addresses by Fox with the words: "Here followeth a Relation of two meetings by G ff:" (Cp. bi-cent. ii. 291.) A few pages later, after giving the list of Fox's writings from Amsterdam (bi-cent. ii. 292), Haistwell adds: "So now I will proceed on the Journall."

Haistwell was evidently in a hurry to finish his work as the beautifully clear and well formed writing of most of the book degenerates towards the end and becomes a scrawl on the last page or two. He concludes: "So here is a Brief Journall of G ff^s travells while I traveld with him in 1677 & 1678."[1]

Haistwell was probably the transcriber at Amsterdam mentioned in his Diary, under date 17 and 18 of 8 mo.: "G ff was at B. F.^s hearing severall bookes and papers w^ch hee had given forth (being Transcribed)." See bi-cent. ii. 311.

It is evident, from a careful comparison of this MS. with the printed *Journal* covering the same period that Thomas Ellwood and his co-editors worked on the Haistwell Diary when preparing *The Journal of George Fox*. The narrative proceeds along the same lines in both. The Diary bears marks of editing. All allusions to Haistwell are struck through; on one margin are the words: "Note this to stand," written after some words which were crossed through; names given in the Diary of those who subsequently fell away from Truth are carefully crossed out—Edward Nightingale, John Fretwell, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Newton (cp. Camb. *Jnl.* and anonymous reference to Fretwell in bi-cent. ii. 511); various records of interviews with some of the Separatists are struck through, including the following, occurring in Essex in 8 mo.:

"and after y^e Meeting, and on y^e 30 day G ff had meetings w^th ffriends and people that were gone from ffr^ds and there was 10: men and women y^t hath been gone from friends this many yeares, and G ff: Reconciled them to ffr^ds again."

(In the margin opposite to some of the references to Separatists appear a few lines of cypher.)[2]

John Reckless of Nottingham was first described as "Mayor" but this has been corrected by another hand to "Sheriff," and after the words: "so Remaines a good ffr^d to this day," another hand has added "& his familly."

[1] This is followed, in another hand, by the words: "See large Journal, p. 821."

[2] There are eleven marginal notes in cipher, five of these refer to Separatists. In the first opening of the book, Haistwell has provided a key-alphabet to these notes and an attempt is being made to decode them. At the end of the book there is a page of writing in cipher containing many combinations which so far remain unread. The system of shorthand used is not the same as found in some other Quaker documents.

The committee of editors under Ellwood made numerous omissions. References in the Diary to other Friends' work, as *e.g.* that of Leonard Fell, are passed by. Many names of Friends visited are not transcribed; thus there are about seventy-seven names which may be added to those appearing in the Spence MSS. (Camb. *Jnl.*) and in the *Jnl.* bi-cent. Among these are Col. David Barclay, Giles Barnardiston (named *George* by Haistwell and altered by another hand to *Giles*), Giles Fettiplace, Gawen Lawrie, William Rogers (the Separatist), Rebecca Travers, Richard Vickris, Thomas Waite and Ezekiel Woolley. In addition to the above 77 there are some 90 Friends whose names do not appear in the same connection in the printed *Journal.* As in Spence MSS. (see Camb. *Jnl.* i. xl.) names of ex-Friends are omitted: Charles Harris, John Raunce and John Swinton. As in the Spence MSS. (Camb. *Jnl.* i. xl.) laudatory references to Fox are omitted, *e.g.* "At a market town y^e^ Woman of y^e^ house said, that y^e^ words y^t^ I spake to her, shee could not forgett, if shee did not see mee again this five yeares" (see bi.-cent. ii. 281).

The "about three weeks" (bi-cent. ii. 264) of the visit to William Penn at Worminghurst is much more fully described in the Diary, as also the work of G. Fox in London, and his visit to Lady Conway.

In general the Diary takes the form of an itinerary, but here and there we find records of personal interest.

REMARKABLE CURE

"A Woman was at y^e^ Meeting, who had gone 14: yeares on her hands & her knees, and thorrow y^e^ wonderfull hand & Arm of y^e^ Lord, was this year [" this year " crossed through] Restored to her strength again, and can go very well: & It being such a miracle y^t^ many people goes to see her and after y^e^ Meeting shee came to G ff: and since her Recovery, so many people going to see her, and shee not [keeping Low in her mind, and in y^e^ fear of y^e^ Lord, was much runn into words, so G ff spoke much to her, Exhorting her to fear y^e^ Lord, and telling her y^t^ if shee did not keep Low and humble before y^e^ Lord, y^t^ shee would bee worse then ever shee had been, and y^e^ woman was much tendered & confessed to y^e^ truth."

VISITS TO RAGLEY

"G ff & Edw: Burn and W^m^ Pardo passed with Geo: Keith to y^e^ Lord Viscount Conoways at Ragley in Warwickshire to visit y^e^ Lady: and Van Helment & ffr^ds^ there was very glad y^t^ G ff came. 19 day G ff and ffriends abode there and had 2 or 3 houres time w^th^ y^e^ Lady in her Chamb^r^ . . . G ff returned to Lord Conway's and there hee and G Keith spent y^t^ afternoon in Answering p^t^ of A German booke: and y^e^ 22 day G ff and G K and Van Helmont were Answering part of a booke w^ch^ y^e^ priest of y^e^ pish belonging to Ragley, had put forth ag^st^ ffr^ds^ and y^e^ 23 day they spent there in y^e^ service of truth. . . . G ff returned to Ragley, & y^e^ 25° day G ff had 4 houres time w^th^ y^e^ Lady, to her great Refreshm^t^ and Satisfaction & G ff was to pass away y^e^ next day, but shee was very earnest for his staying & was not willing

y^t hee should go away. So y^e 26 day, G ff took leave w^th ffr^ds & passed w^th G Keith and B: Doily & Van Helmont to Stratford, and Lyted at an Inn. . . . & G K & Van H returned to Ragley."

WILLIAM MEADE'S COACH

"At Guttershedge was a Larg meeting, being severall ffr^ds from London, as also W^m Mead, who not knowing of G ff^s being there greatly Rejoiced to see him: and after the meeting Tho: Rudyard came to visit G ff and Returned to London ag^n that Night, and G ff stayed at Hendon on y^e 21^st day [of Third Month]. And on y^e 22 day, William Mead and his wife & G W wife, & A P wife came to Hendon In W^m Meads Coach for G ff. So hee went along with them to W^m Meads house at Highgate, where severall ffr^ds from London came to visit him."

Haistwell's Diary forms an important link in the chain of authorities for the printed *Journal:*

The *Spence MSS.* begin in 1649 and take the narrative down to Fox's arrival at Swarthmoor, 25 iv. 1675 (bi-cent. i. 49—ii. 234).

The *Haistwell Diary* takes up the story from Fox's departure from Swarthmoor, 26 i. 1677, and leaves him in London, 24 iv. 1678 (bi-cent. ii. 255-330).

Of the remainder of Fox's life the authorities are, at present, incomplete. The *Litle Jornall Books* (in **D**) cover the following periods: From the middle to the close of 1681; from 1 mo. 1683 to 7 mo. 1687; from 4 mo. 1688 to 11 mo. 1690.

"Buried like a Dog"

One John EElams wife in Halifax being brought to bed, dyed Sept. 1678, being Quakers would not bury at the church. Dr. Hook[1] come up to R. Scarborough churchwarden to intreat him to hire 6 men to convey her corpse to the churchyard, but he refused, he urged him to goe to the funeral at Sowerby street (the quakers burying-place) and take names of the persons there, he told him it was fitter for his sexton to doe that; he sent two men. When the corps was buryed many of the company went to Joshua Smith's a Quakers, and there Henry Jackson spake, the informers upon Dr. Hooks order gave it into the justices, who fined the house for a conventicle 20li, went and levyed it, took 8 beasts of Joshua Smiths worth 30li, prized them at 18li.

One mentioned it to Dr. H. saying he had persecuted them severely, no sth he, but I have prosecuted them, and done it out of principles of conscience, for I cannot endure that christian people should be buryed like a dog, they had as good (sth he) have hanged a stone about her neck and thrown her into Calder; that sd the other would have been a cats death.

OLIVER HEYWOOD, *Diaries*, ii. 249.

[1] Dr. Richard Hook, Vicar of Halifax, 1662-1688.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D—Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Camb. *Jnl.*—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

D.N.B.—*The Dictionary of National Biography.*

QUAKER METHODISTS.—My old friend, Joseph Smith, in his *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana*, includes a sermon by Johnson Grant, but makes no mention of this author's medley in four volumes entitled *A Summary of the History of the English Church, and of the Sects which have departed from its Communion, with Answers to each Dissenting body relative to its pretended grounds of Separation*, 1811-15. At p. 549 of vol. ii., dated 1814, occurs the following: "Not long ago, while I was curate of Warrington, a new sect sprang up, engendered in that town by the enthusiasm of the Methodists upon the fanaticism of the Quakers, and denominating themselves Quaker Methodists to signify their extraction on both sides. They had all the broad brims and the jockey bonnets, the demure looks and the stiff manners of the Friends; but having, unfortunately, dwelt at one time contiguously to their place of assemblage, I am quite ready to testify, that they had no silent meetings. Their assemblies, indeed, were scenes of the most horrible extravagance and uproar, uniting the Methodist vociferation with the Quaker universality of speaking. Here were mothers pinching their children to make them pray, till the poor little wretches squalled. Men, women, children, without distinction, order, or authority, all elevated their voices to the loudest strain of outcry and the wildest pitch of frenzy. I know not whether this miserable body of ignorant people still continue to flourish in their full-blown spiritual pride, and to disturb the whole neighbourhood with their demoniac yells. But until they shall give me a good reason why, agreeably to the direction of St. Paul, all things are not done by their society in order, I shall refrain from setting my foot within their cavern of the winds, or from arguing at greater length against their raving madness."

Query, what is the foundation for this curious tirade?

A.G.

BAPTISTS AND ANABAPTISTS.—Dr. W. T. Whitley, M.A., F.R.Hist. S., F.T.S., of Droitwich,

hon. sec. of the Baptist Hist. Soc., writes :

"There was no such thing as a Baptist Church till 1609 and the *name* of no Baptist is known before that date. The Anabaptists of the Continent were and are distinct; their English disciples were extremely few, and had little or no connection with English Baptists. The German Baptists of 1720 went *en bloc* to Pennsylvania, and even to the present day hold aloof from the German Anabaptists of 1520 and the German Baptists of 1850."

JOSIAH NEWMAN'S PAPERS.—The genealogical papers of the late Josiah Newman, F.R.Hist.S., have come into possession of the Society of Genealogists of London, 5, Bloomsbury Square. They contain much of interest concerning Quaker families.

LONG SERVICE (xviii. 46).—Edmund Stanley has been at the Clerk's table at Kansas Y.M. for forty years—seven years as Assistant, and thirty-three years as Clerk.

William Frederic Wells, of London, whose death took place at Devonshire House, under tragic circumstances in August last, was for forty-seven years Clerk of Devonshire House M.M., acting as such at the last meeting before his death, and for forty-eight years Clerk of London and Middlesex Q.M. finance committee, known as the Six Weeks Meeting. He was a doorkeeper at London Y.M. for fifty-two years.

SIR JOHN RHODES.—"In 1733 the living of Barlboro fell vacant. Sir J. Rhodes had already presented Rev. Phineas Maw in 1682, and Rev. Jas. Cooke in 1699. In 1733 he presented the living to Rev. Francis Bowler. Mr. J. Pole, of Pask Hall, holding that Rhodes being a Quaker could not present the living, presented it to Dr. Samuel Pegge. Thus there were two parsons presented, and the matter was referred to the Bishop, and the case being gone into gave it in favour of Sir J. Rhodes on 29th Aug., 1733." (*The Old Halls, Manors and Families of Derbyshire.*)

JOHN HOLME, OF PHILADELPHIA (xviii. 98).—"John Holme, Esq., the only Baptist magistrate in Philadelphia at the time referred to, refused to act with the Quaker magistrates against the Keithians, alleging that 'it was a religious dispute and therefore not fit for a civil court.' Nay, he openly blamed the court held at Philadelphia, Dec. 6-12, 1692, for refusing to admit the exceptions which the prisoners made to their jury." These were the words of Morgan Edwards in 1777, the earliest reference to John Holme accessible to me just now.

W. T. WHITLEY.

FRIEND BONNET-MAKERS (xviii. 42).—Ann Kewell was a "bonnet and mantle maker" at 17, Devonshire Square. An account of hers, dated 4 mo. 6, 1867, is in **D.** It is for a bonnet 12/6, and strings, 1/6.

Passed for press 18th February, 1922.

Vol. XIX. No. 3 1922

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editor: NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A.
Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2

For Table of Contents see page two of cover

Our Quotation—10

"Peace will be your companion, and success will crown your labours. May the SUCCESS as well as the PEACE be kept in view, for, if we judge from what some ministers say, their object in preaching and other religious services appears to be almost exclusively to relieve their own minds, as if with very little view towards the benefit that the visited ought to reap thereby."

JAMES MOTT, of New York, to Hannah Field, then on a religious visit in Europe, 1817, printed in Comly's *Friends' Miscellany*, ix. 364.

Among articles in preparation for future issues are:

Hands Across the Sea, or Correspondence between Carletons in Ireland and America, with copious notes.

Some Account of the Society of Friends in St. Austell, Cornwall.

The Brewin Brothers of Cirencester.

The Usshers of Co. Waterford.

Joseph Sams, Schoolmaster and Antiquarian Bookseller.

Priscilla Green's Visit to Lord Mount Edgcombe.

Letters from Joseph Gurney, of Norwich, to Joseph Gurney Bevan, of London, 1772-1776, descriptive of the youthful and gay life of prosperous Friends.

Love-making in Ireland. A letter from James Carroll in 1825.

The First Publishers of Truth

A STUDY[1]

WE are accustomed to think of the First Publishers of Truth virtually in terms of their missionary service only—as Seekers who became Finders, as men called to and sustained in great enterprises by the Divine Spirit, as those who spread the Truth through severe but joyfully accepted suffering.

In some instances the daily lives of these Publishers —their occupations, their financial resources, and the extent to which they were dependent upon the contributions of others whilst travelling or in prison—have been presented to readers in great detail; but, speaking generally, no such study has yet been made of this heroic band of missionaries. It is the object of this essay to indicate some of the material likely to be of help to the future historian. For this purpose the writer has used information placed at his disposal by the Librarians at Devonshire House, by individual Friends with a first-hand knowledge of farms once occupied by some of these Friends, and the published writings of Quaker and other historians.[2]

It is not possible to decide finally either the exact number or the personnel of the first Publishers of Truth, but we can distinguish fairly accurately between those itinerating Friends with the gift of ministry living in the North West of England whose gospel service had begun by the Spring of 1654,[3] and the main body of Publishers whose names and work are described in that invaluable

[1] Being portions of the presidential address given to the Friends' Historical Society in 1921.

[2] *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell*, 1920 (Penney); *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, 1919 (Clark); *Seventeenth Century Life in a Country Parish*, 1919 (Trotter); and *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, are specially helpful books in this connection.

[3] *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 1912 (Braithwaite), 132. Camb. *Journal*, i., 141.

record *The First Publishers of Truth*.[4] The first named, from sixty to seventy in number, will be referred to here as the Seventy. The whole body of Publishers, amounting to two hundred and eleven persons (one hundred and seventy-eight men and thirty-three women), I shall speak of as the Publishers.[5]

A list of the Seventy follows, giving the chief page of reference in *F.P.T.*, with the place of residence and the occupation so far as discoverable (any subsidiary occupation being given in brackets).

The questionnaire of the Yearly Meeting contained a direction that the trade should be recorded, but this information was not always supplied.[6]

THE SEVENTY.[7]

			F.P.T.
Airey, Thomas ..	Yeoman (Husbandman) ..	Birkfield ..	266
Aldam, Thomas ..	Yeoman ..	Warmsworth ..	320
Atkinson, Christopher	..	Kendal	250
Audland, Ann ..	Wife of Shopkeeper	Preston Patrick ..	244
Audland, John ..	Linen Draper (Farmer)	Preston Patrick ..	254
Banks, John ..	Glove Maker (Fell-monger & Husbandman)		486
Bateman, Miles ..	Husbandman ..	Underbarrow ..	245
Benson, Dorothy ..	Wife of Yeoman ..	Sedbergh ..	251
Benson, Gervase ..	Yeoman (Husbandman) ..	Sedbergh ..	251
Bewley, George ..	Yeoman (Gentleman)	Haltcliffe Hall ..	48
Birkett, Miles ..	Miller ..	Underbarrow ..	265–7
Blaykling, Anne ..	Sister of Yeoman ..	Drawwell ..	254
Blaykling, John ..	Yeoman (Husbandman)	Drawwell ..	250
Braithwaite, John ..	Shorthand Writer ..	Newton-in-Cartmel	222
Briggs, Thomas ..	Husbandman ..	Newton, Cheshire	222
Burnyeat, John ..	Husbandman ..	Crabtree Beck ..	38
Burrough, Edward ..		Underbarrow	159,263

[4] "The First Publishers of Truth," being Early Records (now first printed) of the Introduction of Quakerism into the Counties of England and Wales. Edited by Norman Penney, with Introduction by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, 1907, 410 pages.

[5] According to list in *F.P.T.* In 1658, George Taylor of Kendal mentioned seventy-three Publishers (*Beginnings of Quakerism*, 155).

[6] See Preface to *F.P.T.*

[7] This list was discussed with the late W. C. Braithwaite, who, whilst approving generally, said: "There must be a considerable doubtful margin." The late John Handley, of Sedbergh, supplied the writer with a list of seventy-four Friends, used in the preparation of the present list.

Camm, John ..	Yeoman .. (Husbandman)	Preston Patrick	256
Camm, Mabel ..	Wife of Yeoman ..	Preston Patrick	254
Caton, William ..	Secretary ..	Swarthmoor Hall	138
Clayton, Richard ..	Yeoman ..	Gleaston-in-Furness	97
Dewsbury, William ..	Shepherd (Clothier)	Allerthorpe ..	197
Farnsworth, Richard	Yeoman (Gentleman)	Tickhill ..	274
Fell, Leonard ..	Husbandman ..	Baycliff ..	30
Fox, George ..	Shoemaker (Shepherd)	Drayton	241-251
Goodaire, Thomas ..	Yeoman (Gentleman)	Selby ..	239
Halhead, Miles ..	Husbandman ..	Underbarrow ..	263
Harrison, George ..	Gentleman ..	Sedbergh ..	250
Holmes, Thomas ..	Weaver ..	Kendal ..	257
Howgill, Francis ..	Tailor (Farmer) ..	Grayrigg ..	265
Howgill, Mary ..	Sister of Tailor ..	Grayrigg ..	263
Hubbersty, Miles ..	Husbandman ..	Underbarrow ..	263
Hubbersty, Stephen ..	Husbandman ..	Underbarrow ..	263
Hubberthorne, Richard	Yeoman (Soldier) ..	Yealand Redmayne	160
Kilham, Thomas ..	Gentleman ..	Balby ..	120
Lancaster, James ..	Husbandman ..	Walney Isle ..	33
Lawson, John ..	Shopkeeper ..	Lancaster ..	234
Lawson, Thomas ..	Gentleman (Schoolmaster)		234
Leavens, Elizabeth (who married Thomas Holmes)	" Lower ranke "		260
Nayler, James ..	Husbandman (Soldier)	Ardsley ..	10
Parker, Alexander ..	Butcher ..	Bolton Forest ..	227
Patrickson, Anthony		Cumberland ..	33
Pearson, Anthony ..	Gentleman ..	Rampshaw Hall ..	88
Pinder, Richard ..		Wath ..	272
Rawlinson, Thomas ..	Gentleman ..	Graythwaite ..	247
Rigge, Ambrose ..	Schoolmaster ..	Grayrigg ..	265
Robertson, Thomas ..	Yeoman ..	Grayrigg ..	266
Robinson, Richard ..	Yeoman ..	Countersett ..	311
Salthouse, Thomas ..	Husbandman ..	Dragglebeck ..	28
Scaife, John ..	Day-Labourer ..	Hutton ..	269
Simpson, William ..	Husbandman ..	Sunbricke ..	235
Slee, John ..	Husbandman ..	Mosedale ..	51
Stacey, Thomas ..	Yeoman ..	Cinder Hill ..	5
Story, John ..	Husbandman ..	Preston Patrick ..	256
Stubbs, John ..	Husbandman (Schoolmaster & Soldier)		137–8
Stubbs, Thomas ..	Soldier ..	Pardshaw ..	39
Taylor, Christopher	Schoolmaster ..	Carlton ..	291
Taylor, Thomas ..	Schoolmaster (Beneficed Minister)	Carlton ..	214
Tickell, Hugh ..	Yeoman (Gentleman)	Portinscale ..	45
Waugh, Dorothy ..	Servant ..	Preston Patrick ..	258
Waugh, Jane ..	Servant ..	Preston Patrick ..	255
Whitehead, George ..	Schoolmaster(Grocer)	Orton ..	252
Whitehead, John ..	Soldier ..	Holderness ..	297
Widders, Robert ..	Husbandman ..	Over Kellett ..	34–36
Wilkinson, John ..	Husbandman ..	Preston Patrick ..	269

Of the Seventy (actually sixty-five Friends) fifty-seven were men and eight women. Of these men Friends the occupations of fifty-three are fairly clear, as follows :

Gentlemen	5
Yeomen (or Statesmen)	14
Husbandmen	16
Wage Earners	2
Millers	1
Craftsmen	4
Shopkeepers	3
Schoolmasters	4
Soldiers	2
Other Professional Men	2
Not ascertained	4
	57

Thus, it will be seen that of the men members of the Seventy band, thirty-eight were closely connected with agriculture, seven with trade, and eight with the professions. Of the two soldiers no other occupation is recorded.

Of the eight women two were wives of yeomen and one a sister; one wife of a shopkeeper; one the sister of a craftsman; two serving maids (at Camsgill); and one is described as of "the lower ranke."

Taking into account women Friends, we may therefore say that forty-three of the sixty-one whose occupations are known belonged to the land, leaving nine only to the trading class, eight to the professions, and one doubtful.

This conclusion is confirmed by many general statements in early Friend writings. Thus, William Spurry, referring to the happenings in London in 1654,[8] says that the popular view was that the City was invaded by "Plaine north Cuntry Ploughmen." Ellwood thought Nayler looked like a "plain, simple Country-man."[9]

If these general descriptions err it is in their lack of recognition of the good education possessed by many of the Seventy. Specific mention is made of this in individual cases, whilst the writing of the missionaries is a rough indication of the same fact.

Penn's *Rise and Progress of the Quakers* states that the first Friends were of the most sober of the several persuasions they were in, "many of them of good capacity, substance and account among men. . . . Some of them wanted not for parts, learning or estate, though then, as of old,

[8] *F.P.T.* 163.

[9] *History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, sub anno* 1659.

'not many wise or noble, etc., were called' . . . because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity."[10]

In the larger number of Publishers the occupations are clear in one hundred and twenty-five cases as follows:

Gentlemen	12
Yeomen (or Statesmen)	17
Husbandmen	28
Day Labourers (men)	6
Women connected with the land	11
Merchants, Craftsmen, etc.	17
Shopkeepers	11
Schoolmasters and Ministers	10
Soldiers and Sailors	8
Other Professions	5
Not ascertained	86
	211

Thus, of the Publishers whose occupations are known, seventy-four were engaged in agriculture, twenty-eight in trade, and twenty-three in the professions.

If we may assume that these proportions would hold in the whole body of Publishers, we have this interesting comparison between the Seventy and the larger band:

	The Seventy	The Publishers
Connected with the land	68%	59%
Connected with trade	13%	22%
Connected with professions	12%	18%

In other words, the Seventy were drawn more exclusively from the land than were the Publishers, a considerably larger proportion of whom were actively engaged in trade.

These pioneers of a new way of life, the earliest of them resident mainly in Cumberland, Westmorland, North Lancashire and West Yorkshire, experienced a remarkable release of spiritual, intellectual and physical powers as they received God into their hearts,[11] and, impelled by His spirit, left their homes and occupations in journeys perilous throughout England, then an open country, one part a wilderness of heath, turf or marsh, the other part unenclosed ploughed fields like those of France to-day. The cities were

[10] Penn's *Works*, v., 228.

[11] *Beginnings of Quakerism*, xxxvii.-xxxviii.

so small and isolated that they scarcely affected the lives of the majority of Englishmen. The development of agriculture (common cultivation giving way to individual responsibility for enclosures) brought to the front the tenant farmer and yeoman, and the advance in methods at this period was due chiefly either to the yeomen, or to gentlemen, who, like Cromwell, worked their own land. The social standing of the yeoman was in advance of that of the ordinary tenant-farmer, who in the Stuart period "was neither wealthy, independent, nor interesting."[12] Whilst the labourers were very poor the general body of farmers were prosperous, but the fact that men knew one another better then than now mitigated those ills which followed this faulty economic condition. The records of the Publishers as a whole contain many concealed references, and some open ones, to the operation of the Law of Parochial Settlement (1662), the effect of which was "not only to annex the labourer to the parish of his residence and to make him a serf," but "also to enable the opulent landowner to rob his neighbours and to wear out prematurely the labourer's health and strength."[13]

Industry was conducted under what is now known as the "domestic," or "home-system," as distinguished from that of the factory.

The whole of the North West of England was in a backward state. Cumberland was the poorest county in the country, Durham, Westmorland, Lancashire and Yorkshire coming next, in this order. Middlesex was the wealthiest county.[14]

Carlisle and Kendal were two of those provincial capitals which formed social as well as trading centres. In 1617 Carlisle is described as "a simple, honest and independent Community who helped one another, were fond of simple pleasures and kind to the poor," but this, of course, was before the Civil War came with its disrupting influences.[15] Seven of the English turnpike roads in Westmorland passed

[12] Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, 1904, 38.

[13] Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 1908, 434.

[14] Traill, *Social England*, 1893, 384.

[15] Ferguson, *History of Cumberland*, 254.

through the old town of Kendal, spread out " like a windmill Saile," remarked a traveller in 1634.[16]

Gregory King, the chief authority for the vital statistics of this period, gives the population during the century as about five million persons, and adds information regarding the different grades of society and their incomes from which, after comparing with other figures given in *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, and *Social England*, I give the following table :

1. *Engaged in Agriculture* (or deriving main income from land) :		
†Esquires, income of £450 †Gentlemen, income of £280	16,600	
Yeomen, income of £50—£90 ..	160,000	
Husbandmen, income of £42 10s. od. ..	150,000	
Farm Labourers, income of £10 8s. od. to £15 12s. od.	364,000	
Cottagers, income of £6 10s. od. ..	400,000	
	1,090,600	(21.8%)
2. *Trade and Commerce :*		
†Merchants and traders, £200—£400 ..	8,000	
Shop-keepers, £45 ..	50,000	
Craftsmen and Artisans, £38 ..	60,000	
	118,000	(2.3%)
3. *Professions :*		
Office-Holders, £120—£200 ..	10,000	
Lawyers, £154 .. Naval and Military Officers, £60—£80 ..	5,000	
Arts and Sciences, £60 ..	16,000	
Clergymen, £45—£60	10,000	
	41,000	(.82%)

Note †Thorold Rogers thinks under-estimated.

Having now surveyed the position in society of the Seventy and of the Publishers, and having glanced at the general condition of the country and its people in the seventeenth century, we are in a position to return to the Quaker missionaries in order to consider additional information affecting their economic position.

The classification of the Seventy and the Publishers connected with the land, made on pages 69 and 70, cannot be exact, the terms used in records not being uniform, even throughout the history of one individual.

Usually " gentleman " may be taken to represent a small to medium " rentier," living on income generally

[16] Curwen, *Kirkbie Kendall*, 12.

derived from the land, but not himself farming, and possibly in a profession. With this definition should be compared the description of Cromwell by Trevelyan,[17] and that of the Publishers, Richard Farnsworth, and Thomas Goodaire—"Yeomen or Gentlemen."[18] Mr. John Fell has pointed out that the gentry in Lonsdale North of the Sands were principally employed in agriculture[19]; and Mr. Brownbill has noted that in the same district all engaged in agriculture were a compact body.[20]

A yeoman was a small landowner—one of a "body in antiquity of possession, and purity of extraction, probably superior to the classes that looked down upon it as ignoble."[21] In the seventeenth century yeoman was a common description of testators, and esquire rare.

Of these yeomen some were freeholders, others copyholders, or customary freeholders.

The copyhold estates, held by the will of the lord according to the custom of the manor, had acquired the essential quality of ownership in Elizabeth's reign.

The customary freehold was a species of copyhold tenure, but, unlike it, was not expressed to be at the will of the lord. Yet being according to the custom of the manor, the holder had to perform certain duties and services to his lord, who in some cases (*e.g.*, in the manor of which Richard Hubberthorne was a tenant) exacted from his tenants far more than was their due.[22]

A special type of tenure (known as "Border Tenant Right"), varying in important particulars from those just defined, prevailed in North Yorkshire, Lancashire Over Sands, the S.W. portions of Durham and Northumberland, and over the whole of Cumberland and Westmorland—in fact, wherever moss troopers and marchmen had been bound to Border Service. The services of these tenants were fixed,

[17] *England under the Stuarts*, 38.

[18] *F.P.T.*, 274-5.

[19] *Illustrations of Home Life in Lonsdale*, 1904, 5.

[20] *Swarthmoor Account Book*, xiii.

[21] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. iii.

[22] J. Rawlinson Ford, *The Customary Tenant-right of the Manor of Yealand*, 1909.

and certain of their estates varied by ordinary deed of conveyance, the name of the tenant being placed upon the court roll for purposes of registration only, and not to complete the conveyance. The rents were small, but the holders were under an obligation during forty days in the year to provide horsemen, bowmen and javelin men for war against the Scots if so required. Fixed payments were made by them on the death of the lord, and there were regulations designed to prevent the breaking up of the estates. These customary estates were considered equal to freehold.[23]

Generally speaking the statesman was the equivalent of the customary freeholder. His tenancy, however, was probably allodial—not feudal—(*e.g.*, freehold, without being subject to any rent, service, or acknowledgment to a superior).[24]

An outward and still visible indication of the relative positions of those early Quakers who were connected with the land is afforded to the present-day visitor who looks over carefully such Quaker homes as those of Swarthmoor Hall (Margaret Fox), Camsgill (John Camm), Drawwell (John and Thomas Blaykling), Low Brigflatts (James Baines), and High Thackmore Head, Grayrigg (almost identical with Francis Howgill's house of Todthorne, which now is only represented by a portion of one wall).

The circumstances of the Swarthmoor Hall household are fully described in *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell,* which shows that the family income was derived from several and varied sources; that Margaret Fox and her daughters shared the tasks of the house and farm; and so forth.

Probably, at any rate, nine of the whole band of Publishers belonged to the group of which the Fell family stood at the head, namely Isaac Penington, William Penn,

[23] Ferguson, *History of Westmorland,* 1894, ch. x.

[24] In *Former Social Life in Cumberland and Westmorland,* the author argues that these estates were mainly held by "customary tenure," adding that several statesmen could trace what was virtually ownership back to the time of Richard II. In 1603, James I. laid a claim to all small estates in the two counties on the plea that the possessors were tenants of the Crown, not of a feudal lord, on which they met near Kendal in large numbers to protest that they had "won their lands by the sword and felt themselves able to defend them by the same means."

John Crook, Christopher Holder, George Harrison, Thomas Lawson, George Bewley, and Thomas Rawlinson.[25]

It was from this class that Justices of the Peace were selected.[26]

The yeoman, or statesman, was not in so good a material position as that occuped by Judge Fell; yet the prosperous member of this class was of real account in the community. "He wears russet clothes, but makes golden payment, having tin in his buttons, but silver in his pocket," wrote Thomas Fuller.

As a rule the statesmen were remarkable for independence of thought and action—"people of good repute and esteem."[27]

Adam Sedgwick, writing of his native dale of Dent (once peopled by Quakers), said: "The Statesmen, it must be understood, were the aristocracy of the dale; they stood somewhat aloof from their fellow dales-men, and affected a difference in thoughts, manner and dress. It used to be said of a lad who was leaving his father's home: 'He's a deftly farrand lad and he'll du weel, for he's weel come, frae statesmen o' baith sides,' *i.e.*, 'He is a well-mannered lad, and he will prosper for he is well descended, from statesmen on both sides.'"[28]

To this class belonged the Camms of Camsgill, the Blayklings of Drawwell, Richard Hubberthorne, and several other members of the band of the Seventy.[29]

[25] Consult *Household Account Book of Sarah Fell*; *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, ch. ii.; and for a delightful picture of how a gentleman should spend his time, *A Quaker Postbag*, 1910, 1-7.

[26] See *History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, 13, 114.

[27] Testimony to John Blaykling.

[28] *Life and Letters of Adam Sedgwick*, 1890, i. 9. The same writer records that "a statesman's house in Dent had seldom more than two floors, and the upper floor did not extend to the wall where was the chief fireplace, but was wainscotted off from it. The consequence was, that a part of the ground floor, near the fire-place, was open to the rafters; which formed a wide pyramidal space, terminating in the principal chimney of the house. It was in this space, chiefly under the open rafters, that the families assembled in the evening." This assists us to picture the groups of "Seekers" helped by George Fox.

[29] The original address proceeds to give descriptions of houses and farms (the latter averaging 50 acres with large extent of fell land suitable for sheep) of these statesmen farmers.

The Husbandman[30] was the most numerous class among respectively the Seventy and the Publishers. He possessed a small holding at a fixed customary rent and with rights of grazing on the common, and could maintain a position of independence.[31] As a matter of fact the husbandman might be better off than a landowner in the same district. The holdings generally varied from about half an acre to seven acres or more, and when cows were kept the family was definitely above the poverty line. The husbandmen I am describing were among the most prosperous of their class and might possess an apprentice; the smaller ones had to depend for their living partly upon wages paid by neighbouring yeomen which probably averaged 4s. per week.

The wife of the husbandman did a labourer's work on the holding whilst her husband was working for others.[32] In spite of this toil, these wives were the type selected by the wealthy to act as wet nurses for their children.[33]

As already noted, this husbandman class contains the greatest proportion of the whole body of Publishers engaged in agriculture, thus differing from the general position in the country in which the freeholders were still more numerous. On the other hand, whilst there were said to be twice as many farm labourers as husbandmen in England and Wales, the Publisher husbandmen were almost five times as numerous as the labourers—a fact confirming the view that the early Quaker leaders were substantial men.

It is also a significant thing that few of the Seventy or of the whole body of Publishers were ordinary labourers or servants. John Scaife was one of these "being of low estate in the world, so for a livelyhood was a servant or day labourer."[34] Probably Edward Edwards, who lived

[30] The term "husbandman" was applied in early times in the North to a manorial tenant—the villein of other districts. Occasionally he was a peasant owning his house and land, and it would appear that in our Quaker records many men assuming this title, or given it by others, were substantially of statesmen rank. According to some authorities, "husbandman" meant originally a holder of "husbandland," a manorial tenant who held two ox-gangs or virgates, and ranked next below the yeoman.

[31] *Working Life*, 50.

[32] *Ibid.*, 58.

[33] *Ibid.*, 305.

[34] *F.P.T.*, 269.

for a time with Gervase Benson, was another; and Thomas Lorrimer a third. The petitions to Magistrates and Parliament and Justices infer that the main body of Friends contained many labouring men, and it is possible that three or four of those Publishers I have referred to as husbandmen might with equal correctness be included in the lower class.

As regards women, two serving maids living at Camsgill in 1652, Jane and Dorothy Waugh (eventually Jane Whitehead and Dorothy Lotherington), are the most interesting examples of this class to be found among the Seventy, indeed among the Publishers as a whole. Helped from the Kendal fund, they went on Gospel journeys, and endured imprisonments. Dorothy was one of the passengers in the *Woodhouse* on its voyage to America in 1657.

In the space at my disposal it is impossible to deal with those of the Seventy who were shopkeepers, and those who practised crafts. Interested readers may be referred to the autobiographies of William Stout of Lancaster (1665-1752), and Roger Hebden of Malton (d. 1695) for the former class; and to the Journal of John Banks (1637-1710) for the latter. The *Swarthmoor Account Book* and *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* give valuable information regarding women's work in crafts.

Only eight of the Seventy can be reckoned as members of the professional class, although among those who received the Publishers several more are to be found, including a doctor,[35] physician[36] and publisher.[37]

The different professions represented among the Seventy are these: Minister, Schoolmaster, Soldier, Shorthand-writer, Secretary, Commissary.

As further affecting the economic position of the Seventy, it is important to note that of the amounts granted by George Taylor and Thomas Willan,[38] treasurers of the Swarthmoor Fund, it is clear that some went to the Seventy—not to supply their own personal needs or expenses, but for them to dispense to others. Thus Thomas Rawlinson ("gentleman") received 13s. for Friends in Scotland, and various

[35] *F.P.T.*, 220.

[36] *Ibid.*, 274.

[37] *Ibid.*, 318.

[38] THE JOURNAL, vi., 49, 82, 127.

amounts for Alexander Parker and others (another 10s. on his going southward); John Camm, £2, "to himselfe or others as he sees cause."

The following among the Seventy were helped personally by the fund: Christopher Atkinson, John Audland, James Lancaster, Edward Burrough ("a Kase of Knives"), Francis Howgill ("cariage of cloake"), John Lawson, Alexander Parker, Miles Birkett ("a pair of stockings"), Anthony Patrickson, William Caton ("a paire of shoes"), Thomas Holmes ("a paire of britches & showes"), Thomas Taylor, Richard Hubberthorne, George Whitehead, Richard Clayton (elsewhere described as "the owner of a small estate"), William Simpson, John Slee, James Nayler, Jane Waugh, Miles Halhead, Thomas Salthouse, Dorothy Waugh, John Scaife, John Stubbs ("ffor Cloathes"), John Story ("ffor Cloathes makeing and furniture and mendinge"), Elizabeth Leavens ("Clotheinge"), Thomas Lawson ("Wch he sd hee wanted").

This list reveals that fourteen of the Seventy (two being women) I have listed as being connected with the land required assistance in their travels or imprisonments, four connected with trade (one woman), and five with professions.

When money was given to help in maintaining the families of those of the Seventy who were imprisoned, we may conclude either that the wife was unable to "carry on" satisfactorily alone (from incapacity or ill-health) or that the business had declined. C. Atkinson's mother "being sick" received 6s. in 1654; T. Taylor's wife 15s. in 1655; and later T. Taylor's wife and children 10s.

The writings of the early Friends contain little if any information regarding their married life, but in the few cases in which such information is given, this bears directly upon the subject now under review. Thus, the reader of John Banks's Journal will feel that the wife's share of the partnership in material things was too heavy for her to bear, what with the business of fellmonger, the small farm and the bringing up of the children; but it is easier for us to see the importance of these things than to feel the power of the concern which compelled the husband to labour away from his home. To Banks, his wife was a careful, industrious

woman, "a good support to me on account of my travels, always ready and willing to fit me with necessaries . . decent for me in Truth's service."[39]

Some of the Publishers, whether they wished it or not, much improved their economic position by their marriages, although it will be remembered that George Fox was a conspicuous example of those who took measures not to profit personally by such an event. William Caton, in the original and fascinating account of his courtship of Annekin Derrix, in Holland, began by submitting three questions for Annekin's consideration, the first of which was "whether she would condescend to the thing, he having little or nothing as to the outward." To which she replied: "She did not look upon means but upon virtue." The proceedings went forward, but not without a wonderful amount of consultation with other people, which the modern Quaker would think anything but romantic! Annekin Derrix belonged to a family possessing considerable means, and their short married life was a happy one. When Caton was in prison at Yarmouth in 1664 his wife wrote to him "to buy 20—30 lbs. worth of red Herrings" (presumably for trade), which the turnkey allowed him to do![40]

In the married life of Thomas and Elizabeth Holmes, the time came (1655) when a baby was born and the mother and the child were lodged in one room in Cardiff where, her husband stated, "shee Labores with hir hands and is not chargable, and as much as in hir lyes shee will keep from being borthensume to any. . . . Nether shee nor hir child must perish." He added: "It was never in us to ly the charg of a child upon A company of new convinced Frinds."[41] As the grey story of the lives of these two young people develops we find that the little child was given up to others, in order to save expense and to allow of its mother continuing her ministerial work. This fact preyed upon the father so much that he appears to have almost hoped that the call to the ministry which his wife had received would cease to exist. Both parents died young.[42]

[39] *Journal*, 1712, 129.

[40] Swarthmore Mss., iv., 264.

[41] *Ibid.*, i., 203.

[42] *Ibid.*, i., 196, and Brailsford, *Quaker Women*, 1915, 149-156.

Thomas Ellwood, a friend of many of the Publishers, explains in his *Life* that he and his future wife did not hasten marriage, but went on "deliberately," adding that he did not use those "vulgar ways of courtship by making frequent and rich presents," not only because his outward condition would not bear the expense but because he did not like to attempt to offer a bribe for his friend's affection.[43] After marriage, Thomas took care to secure to his wife what money she had as well as what he himself possessed, "which indeed was but little, yet more by all that little than I had given her ground to expect with me."[44]

The spirit of perfect comradeship in spiritual as well as material things evident in the biographical records of, for instance, John Banks, John Camm, and John Audland (all of the Seventy), and their wives, is truly delightful. Their mutual respect, their common aim, the way in which they upheld one another throughout life's vicissitudes constituted a relationship which may be described in the ancient words: "Love is an excellent thing, a great good indeed, which alone maketh light that which is burdensome and equally bears all that is unequal. For it carrieth a burden without being burdened, and maketh all that is bitter, sweet and savoury."

Conclusions

This study of the First Publishers of Truth leads up to certain conclusions, of which I submit the following:

1. The great majority of the Seventy (namely sixty-eight per cent.) were connected closely with the land either as proprietors, tenants or labourers, or as the wives of these.

2. Next to these in number came the merchant and trader and then, very closely, the professional class, the respective percentages being thirteen per cent. and twelve per cent.

3. Eight of the Seventy were women. At the time of their setting forth on missionary service half were married and half unmarried, two of the latter being maid-servants.

[43] *Life*, 216.

[44] *Ibid.*, 223.

4. Over half of the Seventy may be described as being in a good material position in life, as having a superior education, and as possessing widespread influence in the districts in which they lived.

5. Many of the Seventy and of the Publishers, with their families, followed "secondary" occupations, which proved exceedingly useful to them, especially during those times when the husband was travelling or in prison.

6. The effect of the persecution of the Publishers as a whole (including imprisonment and the spoiling of furniture and stock) was to place some families in a position of economic difficulty. This difficulty was, however, lessened in the case of married men owing to the efficiency of their wives in agriculture and trade, in accord with the general position of women in industry in the seventeenth century.

7. There is evidence to show the special effort made by individual Publishers to maintain themselves and their families in spite of long absences from home; also of the readiness with which the Publisher returned to his daily work after a period of Gospel service in order to provide the material means necessary to support his family, and to engage in further service should he be called to this.

8. A great effort was made by the Publishers who were in prison to maintain themselves and so avoid making any demand upon the funds raised by Friends.

9. Many of the Seventy (about thirty-eight per cent.) received help from the Kendal fund, in order to buy such personal belongings as breeches, shoes, clothes, hats, stockings knives; also Bibles. (In some cases this assistance was given to the wives. Certain members of the group received grants for service-expenditure in the course of travels in Ireland, Scotland, Holland and elsewhere.)

10. In the words of W. C. Braithwaite: "The fraternal joys of the early Franciscans were reproduced among the simple-hearted statesmen of Westmorland," and in surveying the economic position of any one of the Seventy or of the Publishers, it is necessary to remember that the spirit of practical helpfulness animating the whole body contributed to the material as well as to the spiritual welfare of each individual Publisher.

ERNEST E. TAYLOR.

Ministry in Metaphor

IF any of my people inquire where I am, tell them that the old pedlar is moving about, all weathers, from house to house, and from one meeting to another; frequently offering his goods at public sale. And although he had a very small pack when he left home, it was so unaccountably heavy that he could not walk straight under it; but thus far, as he has continued faithful, he has parted with a great quantity of goods, and also it must appear admirable [strange] that he cannot perceive his pack is in the least diminished, but considerably more goods in it, so that he judges he has as good an assortment of goods as almost any in his occupation, and although not so flashy, yet proved to wear as well.

Whether it is the profit from the sale of his goods or whether he has grown stronger he must leave. However, his pack being much larger and fuller of goods, he says he can carry it along with ease and walk straight up without groaning or being in the least weary. And as the old pedlar does know most certainly that the goods are not his own, but a living profit is allowed him in the sale thereof, he is anxious to make what he can to himself.

But the poor pedlar is much disappointed in the sale of his goods, for his Master will not suffer him to carry the key of his pack. When he comes to the market among his customers, he must there wait in stillness until his Master gives him the key, and He sometimes stays long and sometimes comes not at all. The poor pedlar is then low, seeing his customers out of patience, laying all the disappointment upon him, and saying, "Why did he call us here to buy and not offer his goods for sale?" Truly, from the reasonings of man it is provoking—truly the poor pedlar cannot help it, he is so little, so unlearned, and so ignorant that it is not worth his while to attempt to make a temporary key that he might open his pack when he pleased.

From a letter from Abel Thomas (*c.* 1737-1816), from Providence, R.I., in 1813, printed in Comly, *Misc.* iv. 285.

On Behalf of the King, 1745

THOMAS SAVAGE (1675-1754) was a son of Thomas Savage, of Clifton, Westmorland, and succeeded to his father's farm[1] at this place. He married Alice Hadwen, of Kendal, in 1699; she died in 1718. He was buried at Penrith, "a Minister about eighteen years."

There are several copies of the following letter, the original of which is in the possession of Gilbert Gilkes, of Kendal, and there is in **D** a letter dated 11 mo. 22, on the same subject addressed to Samuel Fothergill. In 1746, a pamphlet was published, entitled *A Summary Account of the Marches . . . of the Rebels, from the time of their coming into England, to the Re-taking of Carlisle by the King's Forces, under the Command of the Duke of Cumberland*, probably written by Thomas Savage, whose name is given as "T——s S——ge" (copy in **D**).

The event so vividly described occurred during the retreat of the Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788). He landed in the Hebrides, defeated the forces of King George II and advanced as far as Carlisle and Derby; then retreated and was crushed by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden in 1746. The battle of Clifton, described by Savage, was the last fought on English soil. It took place on the 17th of December (Tenth Month), 1745.

Clifton 11mo. 29, 1745/6

Esteemed Fr^d^,

By this know thine I rec^d^ and shall hereby give thee hints of y^e^ Affair here, as it was from y^e^ beginning to y^e^ end. I being both Eye and Ear Witness of y^e^ truth thereof, but in y^e^ first place I cannot easily omit acknowledging y^e^ great Favour and protecting hand of Providence to us manifested in so great a danger as thou by y^e^ following Acc^t^ mayst understand.

First as to y^e^ rebells, when they came south we did not Suffer much, they seem'd to have a great assurance that

[1] Now known as Town End Farm. See *Trans. Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc.*, new series, vol. xii. (1912), p. 141.

they would proclaim their King in London upon the 24th last mo. and crown him on New Year's day, and then they would send Geordy (as they call'd him) to Hanover, and they should tread down his turnip Garth dyke, highly disesteeming our Noble Duke[2] (calling him Geordy's Lad and Geordy's Wolley with many more opprobious Speeches). But in their return North they were Cruelly Barbarous and Inhumane when here, for their heads gave them Liberty to plunder for 4 hours, and then to burn Lowther, Clifton Bridge and Penrith, and some say for 6 miles round, but thanks to ye Most High, whose Power is above the Power of Man often preventing ye Wicked from ye prosecution of their designs which certainly was ye Lord's doing in bringing forward our Noble Duke and his Men in ye very hour of great distress; as for my part I must Ever Love and Esteem him as a Man of Worth.

Now I shall give thee to understand ye Beginning and End of ye Engagement. First; the Rebels Hussars being gone past to Penrith came riding back to my door in hast between 1 and 2 in ye Afternoon, and in about 1 hour after came back again, driving up ye rear of their Army with Whips to my door, and then some others took their place and they wheel'd and set themselves in Ambush against my Barn side, being so enclosed wth cross houses that our King's men could not see them till upon them. But we, not knowing their design, yet, firmly believed it to be Evil and so went into my house, but could not long be easy but ventured forth again, and looking about I Espy'd ye heads of ye King's men appearing upon a Hill, abt 400 yds south of my house, for wch my heart was in pain believing that a great numbr of them might be cut off before they were aware. So our Care was great to get ye King's men Notice, for wch my Son ventured his Life and gave them Notice abt 300 yds before they came at ye place when in ye meantime they laid a second Ambush abt 100 yds nearer ye King's men, and ye King's Men with some Yorkshr hunters came down and so soon as they were opposite to ye 1st ambush ye Rebels Fir'd upon them but did no Execution, and then issued out of ye Ambush at my doors, and a furious Firing they had, the King's Men Acting ye nimblest and quickest yt ever my Eyes beheld, not

[2] William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765), third son of George II.

one of them receiving any harm ; some Horse followed y^e^ former so that in a few minutes y^e^ Rebels ran away like Madmen, and close by my doors one of y^e^ Rebels was bro^t^ down and taken, and another of them was also taken at y^e^ same time, who was their Cap^t^ Nam'd Hamilton, both w^ch^ were bro^t^ up to y^e^ Duke, then all was still for ab^t^ an hour in w^ch^ time I abode in my house, the King's men still standing on y^e^ Common, in w^ch^ time my Son[3] went over a Little Green to see if he could get y^e^ Cattle bro^t^ into their houses, but seeing it was in vain came homeward again when 4 Rebels on horseback seiz'd him, calling him a Spy, and had him down under their horses feet, Swearing desperately many times they would shoot him, and 3 of them commanded y^e^ 4^th^ to shoot him w^ch^ he first attempted w^th^ his gun then pistol, but neither would fire, so he Escaped and came in. A little after w^ch^ I was grown uneasy to go out w^ch^ I ventur'd to do, and looking ab^t^ me I saw y^e^ King's Men standing upon y^e^ Common as before, and turning me about I saw y^e^ Rebels filling y^e^ Town Street North of my house, as also running down and lining y^e^ Hedges and Walls, even down to my house on both sides; then I was in great pain for y^e^ Duke and his Men, it beginning to grow darkish, but I ventur'd my Life and stood a Little off and wav'd my hat in my hand w^ch^ some of them discovering, One came riding down towards me, and I called to him and bid him cast his Eyes ab^t^ him and see how y^e^ Town was fill'd, and y^e^ hedges lined, after w^ch^ he return'd, then a party was dismounted and came down to meet y^e^ Rebels, and in y^e^ time of Stillness as above they had sent off a party with their Horse to plunder and burn Lowther hall and was also plundering our Town leaving nothing they could lay their hands on, breaking locks and mak^g^ ruinous work even to our Victuals and little Children's cloaths of all sorts.

Now it beginning to grow darkish and y^e^ Rebels so thick ab^t^ my house that we had no hopes of saving our lives, we concluded to leave y^e^ house and get into y^e^ fields if we could, but in y^e^ middle of my Orchard we were parted by y^e^ Rebels, one part of us drove into y^e^ fields and the other part into y^e^ house severely threatened w^th^ tak^g^ our lives, never expecting to see one another any more alive, and we were

[3] Probably Jonathan, who appears to have been the only surviving son, b. 1712.

not only so, but a Son-in-Law[4] and his Family were under y^e^ like circumstances, for they seem'd more severe upon us than upon others. Now to come to y^e^ matter above again we were not all got to our fireside, before y^e^ firing on all hands was dreadfull, w^ch^ continued ab^t^ half an hour, in w^ch^ time was kill'd of y^e^ King's Men 10 and 21 wounded, and y^e^ Duke's Footman taken Prisoner who was retaken and of y^e^ Rebels was killed 55 and many wounded, and that night and early next morning there was 70 in Custody and after y^e^ heat of firing was over all seem'd still a little space, after w^ch^ some came and broke in at my Court Doors, then came to y^e^ house Door calling Sharply to open, but we believing it to be y^e^ Rebels, I would not open, when they began to be sharp and orders were given to fire (they supposing y^e^ house to be full of Rebels) but I call'd and said I would open as fast as I could, and y^e^ first words said to me were Can y^e^ Duke lodge here this Night to w^ch^ I answered w^th^ pleasure. Yes. And pleasant and agreeable Company he was, a Man of good parts very Friendly and no pride in him ; much more on this head I could say if it would not be tedious to thee, but am like to think I'm already tedious, Yet I shall mention one thing more, very remarkable, w^ch^ was, our Cattle were all standing among the Slain Men, and not any of them hurt, as also those that were banished from our house and came in again next morning, w^ch^ y^e^ Duke's men said was a Wonder they were not all killed : our next Neighbour being shot at y^e^ same time. Thou mayst know also that I had y^e^ Duke of Kingston[6] and Duke of Richmond[7] w^th^ ab^t^ 100 Men and as many horses.

One thing I have not yet mentiond w^ch^ was a thing erected by y^e^ Rebels, like a Scaffold behind a wall at y^e^ corner of my house, as we believ'd to cut off any that might come in at my Court, w^ch^ if it had not been so that they fled, y^e^ Noble Duke had stood a Bad chance there. But I am afraid thou canst scarcely read this, if thou thinks of showing

[4] Thomas Savage's daughter, Mary, married William Sutton in 1730 and his other daughter, Hannah, married Josiah Walker in 1733. For their son, Thomas Walker, b. 1735, see below.

[5] It is said that the tree under which the Rebels were buried is still standing.

[6] Evelyn Pierrepont, second Duke of Kingston (1711-1773).

[7] Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond (1701-1750), lieutenant-general, 1745.

it to any I would have thee copy over what thou thinks proper and then show it to whom thou wilt, Even if it be to ye King I shall be easy because I know it to be truth.

I conclude thy friend

THO. SAVAGE.

In the diary of the travels in England of Samuel Smith (1737-1817) of Philadelphia, printed in Comly, *Misc.*, vol. ix. (1837), p. 127, we read, *anno* 1790 :

> On our way to Kendal, we stopt at Thomas Walker's at a place called Cliffton, where the rebel army in 1745 and some of the King's troops had a skirmish. Thomas Walker was then a lad, and being sent on an errand before it began, was in some danger ; but running off in a fright, he did not get home till next morning—to the great anxiety of his parents.

Obituary

WILLIAM CHARLES BRAITHWAITE (1862-1922)

Although numerous obituary notices have appeared respecting the life and work of W. C. Braithwaite, it is due that a brief reference to the value of his services as an historian should be made here—in a publication in which he took much interest, to which he was a valued contributor, and from which, for his historical work, he obtained a considerable amount of information.

W. C. Braithwaite's death will for long be felt as a great loss to Quaker historical research, for he readily placed his wide knowledge at the disposal of other workers, and his assistance was never sought in vain.

He was President of the F.H.S. in 1905-6.

In the Annual Report of the Library and Printing Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings is the following :

> Only as time goes by shall we fully realise the loss to our work by the death of William Charles Braithwaite. He was one to whom the most difficult and varied questions could be addressed with the certainty of receiving a wise answer. His histories will remain a testimony to his scholarship, and their value is the greater because the historical facts have been interpreted in the light of the inner spirit of Quakerism.

Jacob and James, or Strength in Weakness

"WHILE Jacob Ritter resided at Springfield, Pa., he accompanied James Simpson on a religious visit. On their return home, James appointed a meeting at Easton; they put up at a public house and Jacob undertook to make arrangements for the meeting; for this purpose the court house was obtained though not without opposition from one influential individual.

"James, who was probably aware that there had been some difficulty about the meeting, and seeing the people assemble in crowds, became very much depressed. He sat for a while in the chimney corner, questioning the rectitude of his proceeding in appointing the meeting; in this state of feeling, he ordered his horse to be put to the carriage, and, like the prophet Jonah, was going to flee from the word of the Lord.

"At this critical juncture, Jacob arrived and inquired of the ostler, 'What does this mean?' The reply was, 'The gentleman ordered his horse.' 'Well, I order him back again,' said Jacob. The horse was put away, and when Jacob walked in, he found James, who was under a great weight of exercise, preparing to go. He was very glad to see Jacob and wished him to take charge of the meeting.

"Jacob said, 'That wont do, James, but thou must go to the meeting thou has appointed, and I will go with thee.' James said, 'Thou must do the preaching then for I cannot.' Jacob replied, 'Never mind about the preaching, nobody has asked thee to preach, but let us go to the meeting; that is the first thing to be done.'

"James went in great fear and trembling, and Jacob felt brotherly sympathy, with him. For some time James sat with his head bowed almost to his knees, but at length light sprang up and he was enabled to proclaim the truth in the demonstration of the Spirit and with great power and the meeting concluded under a solemn covering.

" The individual who had thrown difficulty in the way of appointing the meeting was now so changed in his feelings that he gave the Friends a pressing invitation to dine with him, but Jacob said, ' No. Thee throwed cold water on this concern in the beginning and now we must go to the public house for our dinner.'

" After dinner they passed quietly away, ' rejoicing for the consolation ' which they felt for this little act of dedication ; and when they had ascended an eminence out of sight of the people but within full view of the town, James stopped his carriage, and, looking back, exclaimed, ' Oh ! Easton, Easton, thou hast had a broadside to-day.' Jacob replied, ' Ah ! thou can brag now but remember how it was a while ago in that chimney corner.' "

Jacob Ritter (1757-1841) was of Dutch extraction and born at Springfield, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He was a soldier in the War of Independence, was taken prisoner and released by intervention of a friend of the British general, Lord Howe. In 1778 he was married to Dorothy Smith ; they removed to Philadelphia, and attended the Lutheran church. But a while after he began to attend Friends' meetings and was later joined by his wife. He felt it right to visit among the sufferers from the yellow fever of 1793 in Philadelphia, and one day as he was going along the street he saw a corpse brought to the Friends' burying ground and only one Friend following. He joined and they stood one on each side of the grave while the corpse was buried. Each went his way home and both were taken ill with the fever. The other Friend, the eminent Minister, Daniel Offley, died.

After years of widowerhood, he married, in 1802, Ann Williams of Buckingham, and after settled at Plymouth, in Montgomery Co., Pa. He did not travel much in the ministry and was more conversant with Dutch than English. A little book of his *Memoirs* was edited by Joseph Foulke and published in Philadelphia in 1844 (copy in **D**).

James Simpson (1743-1811), of Philadelphia, was a prominent Minister, who travelled much in his own country. Robert Sutcliffe, in his *Travels in North America*, 1804-6, describes Simpson thus :

" He follows the occupation of a broom-maker, and frequently comes down to Philadelphia in a handsome little carriage, loaded with his manufactures. Although a broom-maker, yet few pastors stand higher in the estimation of their flocks than he does.

" In his external appearance, he is thin, and upwards of six feet high ; his visage is very long and nearly of an Indian complexion, with small, quick eyes corresponding. In the gallery he commonly wears a dark coloured cotton cap, fitting close to his head, and over his shoulders a long dark coloured cloak. He is not less remarkable in his manner

when exercised in the gallery. He uses considerable action and gesticulation, and his testimonies, in general, are almost a continual exposition of the Mosaic Law with references to the counterpart in the Gospel dispensation, which he explains with a volubility of expression and quickness of recollection that are astonishing to a stranger" (pp. 248, 250 and cp. p. 83—" J.S.").

A pen-picture of J. Simpson, in the *Fourth and Arch Streets Centennial*, 1904, p. 44, concludes with the words:

" Guiltless of writing rhymes, he was yet a poet and throngs of bright images, carrying forcible conviction and Christian instruction, flowed from his lips" (see also pp. 53 ff).

Rebecca Jones describes his death:

" After the short illness he made a peaceful and happy close. Lying down with his clothes on and requesting to be turned on the other side he said: ' It is done.' and ceased breathing." (*Memorials*, 1849, p. 339.)

Changed Letters, an Anecdote of Stanley Pumphrey (1771-1843)

IN the " Journal of William Robson" (see page 105) we read the following:

" 8 mo. 24. 1817. Spent the evening in the company of Stanley Pumphrey, a friend from Worcester, a traveller in the glove line, an extraordinary account of whose late wife is given in the 10th Vol. of *Piety Promoted*. He appears to be a very agreeable friend. . . . He is very full of anecdote, one of which was rather a singular one:

" During the time he was a bachelor he had occasion to write to a woman friend at Liverpool on business. About the same time it appears a woman friend of Worcester wrote to the same female to request her to procure her a young woman for a servant. The Liverpool friend answered both the letters, but unfortunately directed the one addressed to Stanley Pumphrey to the female and that to the latter to S.P. What was Stanley's surprise on receiving a letter to this effect:

" ' Dear friend. I think I have found a young woman that will just suit thee. I have spoken to her parents respecting it. They consent, and the young woman herself is quite agreeable.

" ' I remain, etc., Thy friend.' "

" Joshua Dawson (the great quaker) was buryed in a field, Dec. 29, 90, aged 73, has been a sp. court man before the warre "

OLIVER HEYWOOD, *Diaries*, ii. 157.

The Journal of a Self-Observer

READERS of Quaker history are well acquainted with the *Spiritual Diary* of Dr. John Rutty (1698-1775), "the most extraordinary and unique Quaker document for a study of excessive fear of the 'creature' and for an exhibition of a life-long battle with self."[1]

In the first volume of *Friends' Miscellany*, edited by John Comly (Philadelphia, 1834), there is a record of another Friend's soliloquies and reflections which may be placed along side those of John Rutty.

James Hamton, son of Benjamin and Ann Hamton, of Wrightstown, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania, was born in 1764.

In the year 1784 he commenced school-teaching in his native place. He wrote:

> Being young, and naturally diffident I found myself ready to sink under the labour. My anxiety to discharge my duty among the pupils in a proper manner was, for some time, so great that I scarcely could sleep, or get from under the solicitude day or night.

Two years later Hamton accepted the position of head of the Montgomery Free School, which he found "very large and troublesome, being composed of almost all sects and denominations."

He was much helped and his spirits cheered by association with Dr. Charles Moore and his wife, Milcah Martha, who treated him with great kindness. But even here he could write:

> All nature seems reviving this morning. The fruit trees are blossoming, the woods thicken with the opening buds, and among the branches the winged choir, sweetly melodious, warble forth their morning hymns to the benevolent Father of the Universe. Why, then, O my soul! Why art thou so languishing? Why, amidst all this profusion of gaiety, art thou so dejected?

When his friends, the Moores, removed into Philadelphia, James quitted Montgomery and followed them, though his arrival in the Quaker city did not tend to any mental uplift.

[1] R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, 1921, p. 65. John Baldwin's *Diary or Journal of Time* (1794, etc.) is another example (Comly, *Misc.* v. 249).

Since my arrival here, which was but a few days ago, my mind has been in a low, abased situation. Being among strangers, I have felt as a poor pilgrim, wandering much alone in this wide world.

On 2 mo. 1, 1787, he recorded :

Mental poverty hath been much my portion of late, and I have seemed to myself as a poor deserted wanderer in this wide and wicked world.

Somewhat later in the same year, James Hamton returned to Wrightstown, and began again, though reluctantly, the keeping of school. Here again he committed to paper many of his pathetic lucubrations.

Through unwatchfulness and the depravity of my heart, have this day been guilty of much vain, unworthy behaviour.

Of what this unworthy behaviour consisted we have hints in the following :

At a public examination of my school, evinced rather an unbecoming solicitude to display my children's literary improvement.

Accepted an invitation to go into the water and bathe. It was, as often heretofore, productive of much levity and folly.

A game of ball at noon ; lost ground by unwatchfulness.

Relapsed :—a game of ball, attended with unseemly mirth. Alas ! unworthy me !

Through a lamentable degree of weakness was led to repeat yesterday's folly at ball.

A return of weakness—a game of ball.

A game of ball, attended with noise and folly.

Further games of ball are recorded and regretted, also other forms of amusement.

A spell of play with the boys. Often heretofore induced to this, through a sensible want of corporal exercise ; but always feel a strong conviction for it, and find that even health, the most valuable of all outward blessings, is not to be purchased at the expense of the least virtue.

At noon, took a game or two of hand-ball with boys, at which I was full of laughter and folly.

Other remarks at this period are :

In discourse with a person laughed indecently.

Mind in darkness.

Comfortably regular.

Nearly fifty children to take care of to-day.

Preserved comfortably, steady, laboring for patience and a faithful discharge of duty among them.

A poor dull meeting.

Nearly a vacuum.

In Seventh Month, 1789, James Hamton resigned his post once more, turning from teaching boys to sharing with Joseph Inskeap a school for girls in Philadelphia, and again boarded with his friends, Dr. Moore and his wife.

References in his soliloquies to the girls under his care are fewer and there is no mention of their games.

> Deeply exercised in the school. Endeavoured to ease my mind by seriously addressing those children whose conduct was improper. Much good, I have no doubt, would have been the consequence had the *manner* been as unexceptional as the *matter*.

We close with an extract from a " Eulogium on a very amiable Pupil, Anne Anderson, daughter of William Anderson, of Philadelphia, written chiefly to benefit her surviving companions " :

> Dear, lovely maiden ! how can we but lament the loss of thee ! So some fair floweret of the vale, scarce beginning to unfold its fragrant foliage on the mild bosom of spring, torn from its native stalk, is cast forth to rise no more. But restrain your tears, ye sorrowing relatives. Amanda is happy. Pleasant thought ! Even now, perhaps, numbered among the beautiful spirits, a smiling seraph, she exults in glory, forever separated from the temptations, the sorrows, and vicissitudes of human life.
>
> Ye dear and tender companions of Amanda, who loved her when living, and at her death, dropped over her the tear of commiseration, remember her and be instructed.

James Hamton died, somewhat suddenly, on the 7th of Eighth Month, 1792, unmarried and only twenty-eight.

We see Friend Hamton in another light when we are told that he compiled " an excellent compendium of English grammar."

" Jonathan Lacock near free school at Halifax, a quaker, and his wife—their eldest son going to cut a tree fell down on Thursday, Dec. 16. 80 was taken up almost dead, since then his lower parts from middle downward are indeed really dead, he hath no sense or feeling of them at all, strike, prick, punch them he cannot feel, there he lyes still as a sad spectacle—this is Decemb 26, 80, he dyed and was buryed in their own garden Jan. 8, $168\frac{0}{1}$, Lord sanctify it—two quakers spoke " . . .

OLIVER HEYWOOD, *Diaries*, ii. 299.

L. M. Hoag on the Death of his Wife

Lines written by L. M. Hoag in Thomas Maw's summer-house at Needham Market, on the second anniversary of the death of his wife, 6 mo. 17, 1845 :

Oh gloomy Morn ! two lonely years have passed
Since death's dark shadow o'er my way was cast ;
Whose ruthless hand tore from my arms away
The lov'd companion of my youthful day.
Tore from my arms away ! Shall I repine ?
The blow was ordered by a Hand Divine.
He lent the treasure—with it I was blest ;
He took the gift to crown with endless rest.
Oh ! gracious Father all whose ways are kind,
Oh ! sanctify the chastening thus designed.
Now that this dear, this blissful bond is riven,
Lead up my soul and fix my love in Heaven.
Be Thou my guardian, Thou my constant friend,
That when my pilgrimage is at an end,
I may unite with all the ransomed throng
Who in Thy praise pour forth their soul in song.
Beyond all pain—in deathless climes above,
May I unite with her, my sainted love,
In telling of Thy mercies and Thy grace,
Rejoicing ever in Thy glorious face.
But while I tarry in this vale of tears
Guide me by faith and chase away my fears.
Whatever thing I ask, if ill, deny—
And though unasked, whate'er is good, supply.

Lindley Murray Hoag (*c.* 1808-1880), of Wolfsborough, N.H., visited the British Isles in 1845 and 1853. His first wife, Huldah (Varney) Hoag, died 17 vi. 1843, aged 42. See *Memoir*, 1845 ; The Journal, xiv. 72 ; and elsewhere.

Daniel Ricketson (1813-1898)

IN xix. 47 there appears a short account of this Friend, of New Bedford, Mass. By the kindness of his son, Walton Ricketson, of New Bedford, who has sent over on loan his private copy of *Daniel Ricketson, Autobiographic and Miscellaneous*, edited by Anna and Walton Ricketson (New Bedford, Mass.: Anthony, 233 pages, 1910), we have been able to learn more of this Quaker family.

Daniel Ricketson's ancestors were Friends for several generations. His grandfather, Daniel (1745-1824), " always wore the dress of the Society of Friends, which was usually a light drab coat of good English broadcloth, long dark velvet waistcoat and silver buttons, and velvet or cloth breeches, silver knee-buckles, and silver shoe-buckles, or top boots in cold weather; a broad-brimmed black beaver hat, and a handsome silver mounted cane with ivory head completed his dress, except in cold weather an overcoat of drab " (p. 7).

His wife, Daniel's grandmother, was Rebecca Russell (*c.* 1747-1837), daughter of Joseph Russell and Judith Howland.

> Her father was in his time the most wealthy person in the place and the first who engaged in the whale fishery in New Bedford, or Bedford as it was first called. The place received its name from a suggestion of Joseph Rotch, who early removed from Nantucket to Bedford, the family name of the Duke of Bedford being Russell, and the old man was sometimes called ' the Duke.' He gave the lot of land, about ½ an acre, on which the large brick meetinghouse of the Society of Friends stands, the present [1858] worth of which must be nearly $8000. Joseph Russell was probably descended from John Russell, who came from Pontipool, Monmouthshire, England, and established an iron forge at Russells Mills, Dartmouth (pp. 8, 9).

Joseph Ricketson (1771-1841), father of Daniel, married Anna Thornton (1786-1827), of Smithfield, R.I.[1] and the son, Daniel, married, in 1834, by non-Quaker ceremony, Louisa Sampson, of Plymouth, Mass., and secondly, at the Friends'

[1] She was a daughter of Elisha Thornton (*c.* 1745—1815), " a tall, venerable-looking man, in the old dress of Friends, whose memory has ever been held sacred by his family and a large circle of friends " (p. 11).

Meeting House, Apponagansett, Angeline, daughter of Philip and Eunice Kelly Gidley, of Dartmouth, Mass.

D. Ricketson lived on Elm Street, New Bedford, till 1845; later he lived at Brooklawn, three miles from New Bedford, in the grounds of which stands the Shanty, where he meditated and wrote, and received many of his friends.

Much of the book is occupied with correspondence between D. Ricketson and many noted people—among them J. G. Whittier, L. Maria Child, William and Mary Howitt and their daughter, Anna Mary Watts.

There are numerous illustrations, including portraits from busts by Walton Ricketson.

Whittier wrote to D. Ricketson, under date 10 mo. 13, 1887:

My dear Friend.

I am glad to get a letter from thee. I always think of thee as a true lover of nature and retirement from the noise and push and greed of the world.

I find it difficult to avoid strangers who seek me out and occupy my time, and sometimes greatly weary me, as my health is very delicate. They prevent me from seeing and writing to my real friends with whom I have much in common. . . .

With love and sympathy,

Thy old friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

The letters to and from William and Mary Howitt and their daughter, Anna Mary Watts, are interesting. In July, 1869, D. Ricketson wrote also to William Howitt's brother, Richard, but he had died (5 ii. 1869) before the letter arrived. William Howitt replied:

Probably, you may have wondered that he had not yet replied to it, but some months before your very friendly communication, he had passed the narrow gate which leads to life eternal. He departed this life in February last at Edingly, near Southwell in Nottinghamshire. You wish him in your letter ("a kind heaven's best blessing")—he has received it in the invitation to heaven itself. My dear brother's life and principles had prepared him for the advancement to a higher life. He was, like me a spiritualist, and the knowledge therein desired had taken away all the terrors of death, and made easy that transposition which to the mere lover of this material existence is commonly so hard. . . .

He loved poetry. His life was a poem, the poetry of peace, nature and independence. He made one adventurous step, a visit to the Antipodes, but this was through the attraction of the company of our youngest brother who settled there.

Mrs. Watts wrote from London in August :

Richard Howitt breathed his last painlessly in a fainting fit shortly before attaining his 70th birthday. My sister [Margaret Howitt] attended him in his last illness and placed around his beautiful, venerable head as it lay in its coffin, bunches of his favorite flowers, purple violets, and at his feet a bunch of for-get-me-nots as a symbol that his footsteps on earth shall not be forgotten. His mortal remains were laid to rest in the burial ground of the Friends at Mansfield, where his grave is amidst those of his early friends and kindred, shaded by a group of trees which he loved.

. . .

He printed a little volume[2] about two years since, containing a few poems from his earlier volumes, together with later poems, some of which we think very charming. He never married. He divided his time between agriculture and poetry. Wandering about his fields his poems were matured and hummed over to himself.

In 1869 D. Ricketson issued a volume of poems entitled *The Autumn Sheaf* (a copy of which has been on loan in **D**), and later he wrote a History of New Bedford.

Friends Keepe the Ancient Principles of Truth

1. Att a word, in all yo^{r} callings & dealings, without oppression
2. to y^{e} sound Language, thou, to everie one.
3. yo^{r} testimony agst y^{e} worlds fashions
4. Agst y^{e} old Mashouses & their repaireinge.
5. yo^{r} testimony agst y^{e} priests, their tythes & maintenance
6. against y^{e} world joyninge in marriage, & y^{e} priests & stand upp for gods joyning.
7. agst swearing & y^{e} worlds mañers & ffashons
8. & agst all lousenes, pleasures & profanenes whatsoever
9. & agst all y^{e} worlds wayes, wor^{pps} & religions, & to stand up for gods
10. And see y^{t} everie one y^{t} hath done wrong to any one y^{t} they doe restore
11. And y^{t} all differences bee made upp spedily,
12. And y^{t} all bad things bee judged spedily, y^{t} they doe not flie abroade, to Currupte peoples mindes
13. And that all Reports bee stopped to y^{e} defameing of any one.

G. ff.

From the Minute Book of Swarthmore M.M. 1674, in **D**.

[2] Copy in **D** ; also his *Impressions of Australia*.

The Beard a Bar to the Ministry

JOSHUA EVANS was a native of West Jersey, being born at Evesham in 1731. He was a man of decided religious views and held opinions in advance of his times. He took up the cause of temperance and decided that the use of spirituous liquors during time of harvest was pernitious. He is mentioned in Anthony Benezet's work, *The Mighty Destroyer Displayed*, printed in 1774:

> He offered sixpence per day more than other farmers, to such labourers as were willing to assist in bringing in his harvest, on condition that no spirituous liquors should be used in his fields.

Joshua Evans was also concerned to promote peace and goodwill among men and he conscientiously refrained from the use of articles the duty upon which was appropriated to promote warlike measures. He abstained also from the use of animal food and of leather made of the skins of beasts that had been killed. "His dress was of domestic fabrication, altogether in its natural colour, and clear of superfluous appendages."[1]

> As other Friends had been known to travel in a path almost as narrow, Joshua Evans' progress thus far does not appear to have excited doubts in the minds of his brethren generally. But when he permitted his beard to grow, many of his friends became uneasy, apprehending he was running beyond the motions of truth into unprofitable imaginations.

The matter of the beard was taken up by the Select Q.M. of which Evans was a member, and a committee was appointed to visit him, "on account of his wearing his beard and other singularities." The committee had a good time with him, but "they left him with his beard on, much as they found him, none having power, or a razor to cut it off."[2]

In the Y.M. the beard was such a cause of offence that the seats around near where he sat were avoided by all his friends save one, William Blakey, who, under a sense of duty, took a place beside him, "much to his mortification," as he stated when he related the circumstance many years afterwards.

[1] Quotations are from an account of Joshua Evans in Comly's *Friends' Miscellany*, Philadelphia, vol. 1 (1834).

[2] John Hunt's Journal in Comly, *Misc.*, x. 241.

Joshua Evans brought a concern to travel as a Minister before his M.M. on numerous occasions, but a certificate was as often refused[3] until some of the younger members, usually silent, expressed their approval so strongly that "after thirteen or fourteen years struggle, he was liberated to visit New England. This was in 1794," and apparently he was well received, as he revisited this Northern Y.M. more than once, also other parts of the American States.

While the subject was before Haddonfield M.M. a Friend of Moorestown, N.J., John Hunt, wrote a long letter to a Haddonfield Friend, beginning: "I suppose our friend Joshua's beard is the chief obstruction. . . . To hinder him in his religious services on account of his beard, I cannot see to be right."

Then follow pages of pogonological lore to prove that many noted people wore beards—Bible characters, martyrs, "whom William Penn mentions with great respect," "From some accounts the Holy Pattern did wear his beard." George Fox "was a spectacle of wonder to the world."—When John Woolman landed in England many Friends were much straitened with his appearance.

Joshua Evans died in the autumn of 1798. A vast concourse of people attended his funeral, including many negroes and Indians. His death closed the prospect he had entertained of visiting Europe.

In the tenth volume of *Friends' Miscellany* appears "Joshua Evans's Journal," where it occupies rather over two hundred pages. It reminds us of the Journal of his fellow townsman, John Woolman, being less full than other Journals of names of persons and places, and more occupied with reflections on the condition and manner of life of Friends visited. Like John Woolman, Joshua Evans bore about with him a troubled mind and tender conscience and expressed disapproval of many things he saw, as for instance the system of slavery; the frequent use of spirituous liquor and tobacco; an unnecessary provision of food at times of Quarterly Meeting; "the practice of calling children and others by nick-names, such as Jack, Harry, &c."; "among things superfluous and improper, that of giving children three names."

[3] His father, Thomas Evans, was once refused a certificate to visit Old England, but we do not know the reason for this refusal.

Whilst many of his friends considered his beard as a hindrance to his religious service, he expresses quite different views :

> The wearing of my beard, I believe, hath been of great use in the cause I am engaged to promote ; for I apprehend thousands have come to meetings where I have been, that otherwise I should not have seen ; many being induced, in great measure, to come on account of my singular appearance. And yet many of these have been among the most tendering seasons.

Books Wanted

(*For previous lists, see xiv.* 88, 121 ; *xv.* 119 ; *xvi.* 17 ; *xvii.* 120 *xviii.* 94.)

Devonshire House Reference Library :

Ursprung, Fortgang, und Verfassung der Quakergeminden Zu Pyrmont, by Schmidt, Braunschweig, 1805.

Memoirs of John Dalton, by W. C. Henry, London, 1854.

A Summary History of Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting, Emporia, Kansas, 1897.

Daniel Ricketson, Autobiographic and Miscellaneous, New Bedford, Mass., 1910.

History of New Bedford, Mass., 1858, and *The Autumn Sheaf : a Collection of Miscellaneous Poems*, 1869, by Daniel Ricketson.

Memoirs of John Griscom, LL.D., New York, 1859.

Compendium of English Grammar, by James Hamton, Phila., *c.* 1780.

Memoirs of Joseph Parrish, by George B. Wood, Phila., 1840.

The Mighty Destroyer Displayed, by Anthony Benezet, Phila., 1774.

Books on Grammar, etc., by Stephen Monson Day, Phila., Pa., and Burlington, N.J., *c.* 1800.

Please send offers to the Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Records of the borough of Northampton 1722 Dec. 12. Anne Hopkins, widow, being one of the people called "Quakers," who was exercising the trade of a maltster in the town, was ordered to be admitted a freewoman upon payment of £10 with the accustomed fees and in case she refused to take up her freedom on these terms she would be forthwith sued for an infringement of the charter. Due notice of this order was served upon Anne Hopkins who treated it with contempt and continued to exercise her trade. A case was submitted to the deputy recorder, Mr. Cuthbert, and he advised action should be taken under by-law 1704 which was duly witnessed in accordance with the charter by two of her Majesty's Judges.

George Fox's Leather Suit

IN the seventh volume of *The Journal*, p. 78, is a transcript of part of an ancient manuscript in **D** consisting of notes on the life of George Fox. It is there stated: "He was made to get Lethern Breeches and Doublet," and a note points out that while the fact of Fox wearing leather breeches was well-known, this was, so far, the only known reference to a *suit* of leather. I have now come on another.

There has lately been presented to **D** a large manuscript volume written by Thomas Thompson, of Skipsea in S.E. Yorkshire, who died in 1704, aged seventy-two or seventy-three years. The earlier part is entitled: "Of the Sufferings of God's People, &c," and it sets forth a history of sufferings endured for conscience sake in England and elsewhere during the four or five hundred years preceding the writer's time. The sixth part, beginning on p. 296, is entitled: "Being a Relation of Some of The Sufferings of The People of God Called Quakers." It starts with an account of George Fox, the writer evidently summarising the early part of Fox's *Journal* as edited by Ellwood, in 1694, but sometimes adding information within his own knowledge. In my *Personality of George Fox*, pp. 11, 13, I have quoted, from one of Thompson's printed works, passages descriptive of Fox's appearance and habits. On page 299 of the manuscript volume, Thompson tells of Fox coming into Holderness in 1652 (*Jnl.* bicent. i. 96), near to where he (Thompson) lived, and of his own convincement by means of Fox's preaching, he himself having already "had some sense of the working of an inward principle." He adds:

"Shortly after, the name Quakers was in scorn giuen us in these parts, for when George was here it was not used but He was Generaly Called by the worlds people Leather Coat because he wore Leather Breeches and doublet, though the name Quaker was given Him at Darby, long before he came here." The "long before" was in 1650.

About the time that George Fox was wearing a leather suit, Thomas Traherne (1636 (?)–1674), the writer of devotional meditations, was doing the same in order to live economically. He writes:

"When I came into the country, and being seated among silent trees, and meads and hills, had all my time in mine own hands, I resolved to spend it all, whatever it cost me, in the search of happiness, and to satiate that burning thirst which Nature had enkindled in me from my youth. In which I was so resolute, that I chose rather to live upon ten pounds a year, and to go in leather clothes, and feed upon bread and water, so that I might have all my time clearly to myself, than to keep many thousands per annum in an estate of life where my time would be devoured in care and labour." *Centuries of Meditations*, ed. Dobell, 1908, second issue, p. 194.

A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW.

The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox"

Continued from vol. xvii. p. 130.

73.—Vol. I., p. 452.—In *Fleetwood Family Records* for January, 1921, collected and edited by Robert Woodward Buss (copy in **D**), there is a reproduction of miniatures of Charles Fleetwood (1618-1692). There is also a notice of the will of Hester Fleetwood, a Friend of Chalfont Meeting (THE JOURNAL, vii. 64), widow of the Regicide, Colonel George Fleetwood of the Vache (1622—1674 ?), witnessed by Thomas Ellwood and proved 13 May, 1714 (P.P.C. Aston, 94). There is also a reproduction of miniatures of Colonel George Fleetwood.

74.—Vol. II., p. 135.—We are surprised to find no note to Henry Jackson, but it is probable that information lacking in 1911 is forthcoming in 1921. There were three of the name in succession. HENRY JACKSON, primus (1593-1667), lived at Mealhill, township of Hepworth, county of York and was a soldier in the Royalist army. He had one son, HENRY JACKSON, secundus (1633/4-1710), who became a Friend and a Minister and at whose house at Mealhill George Fox held a meeting in 1669. He was a man of influence and wealth and built Totties Hall, Wooldale, about 1682. He was the founder of Wooldale Meeting. He was imprisoned at Lincoln in 1663, Warwick in 1663-6 and later at York. In 1665/6 (apparently during the time of his imprisonment) he married Katherine Cooke (- 1695). Among his eleven children were Elihu (1669-1730), physician, of Mealhill and Doncaster, and also Wooldale Hall, which he built about 1714 (his widow née Katherine Vicars, of Doncaster, sold Mealhill in 1739); Hannah (1675-1682) and Tabitha (1679-1682), who both died of small-pox and whose gravestones have, of recent years, been found in an outhouse adjoining Wooldale meeting house (*Sunday Magazine*, Feb. 1905); and Henry tertius (1680-1727).

HENRY JACKSON, tertius, lived at Totties Hall. He was a prominent Friend and travelling Minister in Great Britain and Ireland. He married, firstly in 1703 Barbary Lupton (c. 1684-1717), of Bradley, near Skipton, and secondly, Mary, daughter of Thomas Ellwood, of Kendal. By his first wife he had seven children. His daughters married into the families of Lister, Cowell, Marsden and Arthington. His surviving son was Ebenezer Jackson (1715-1775), who died unmarried.

F.P.T.; *State Papers Relating to Friends*; Besse's *Sufferings*; *Biog. Memoirs*, iii. 667 and other mss. in **D**; and esp. *The Family of Jackson of Wooldale in the County of York*, by C. T. Clay, reprinted from *The Genealogist*, July, 1920.

75.—Vol. I., p. 49.—" I went Into ye Iland of Wana & after ye preist had donne I spoake to him who gott away . . . I went to look for ye preist att his house & hee woulde not bee seene but ye people saide hee went to hide himselfe in ye haymowe . . . & then they saide hee was gone to hide himselfe amongst ye standinge corne . . . but they coulde not finde him."

Mr. P. V. Kelly, of Barrow, has kindly sent extracts from notes made by the late Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, which give the name of the minister of Walney above referred to :

"From the Dalton Parish Registers we find that a Mr. Soutwerke was minister of Walney between 1649 and 1657. He was probably acting unofficially when the Parliamentary Survey was made in 1650 and was not duly appointed till after the grant of £50 a year was made in 1651. Mr. Soutwerke, like other Lancashire ministers of the time was a Presbyterian, the Church in Lancashire being then under Presbyterian government."

Mr. Soutwerke's name also occurs in the *History of Northscale* by the late W. B. Kendall, printed in vol. xiii. (1899) of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club Proceedings. The name also occurs in the same connection in the mss. of William Close, the editor of the second edition of West's *Antiquities of Furness*, which are preserved in the Manchester Public Library.

76.—Vol. II., pp. 217, 226n, 244, 426, 437.—The place where John Jay met with his accident was Porback, near Shrewsbury in New Jersey. The house into which Jay was carried was visited in 1786 by Elisha Kirk —a travelling preacher. It was then occupied by William Parker, "the log on which George Fox laid Jay, yet lying there with no more virtue in it than any other log" (Elisha Kirk's Journal in Comly's *Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 36).

77.—Vol. I., pp. 359, 463.—Remove figure 5 from last line and erase note 359. 5.

78.—Vol. I., p. 427.—Of Henry Walker, Cromwell's "newsmonger-priest," we glean a few more particulars from *Mercurius Britanicus His Welcome to Hell :* with the Devills Blessing to Britanicus, by Sir Francis Wortley, 1647 :

> "To *Henry Walker* I beare much affection,
> Hee's red-hair'd, of *Iscariots* right complexion,
> Like *Sheba, Bichri's* son, he did rebell,
> And cried out, to your tents, O *Israel,*
> He was an Ironmonger at first, and then
> He turn'd Bookseller, after that his pen
> Libel'd against the King, and did incroach
> So neare him, that he threw't into his coach,
> For which he should have gone to th' Triple-Tree,
> But pity, and the Kings high clemency
> Wrote to the Parliament, that they should spare him,
> Whose power unto the Pillory did reare him.
> Since when, to shew his humble thanks the more,
> Reviles the King worse than he did before.
> Writes Weekly Newes, and lies egregiously,
> And oftentimes doth preach most grievously ;
> For which I will prefer him unto thee,
> When thou com'st, he shall then thy Chaplain be."

79.—Vol. I., p. 458.—For more respecting Col. John Wigan, see THE JOURNAL, xvi. 141.

80.—Vol. I., p. 419.—With the aid of the *Index to the First Volume of the Parish Registers of Gainford in the County of Durham*, 1889, recently through our hands, we can supply some additions and corrections to the note on Henry Draper, of Headlam, and John, his son. Following Steel's *Early Friends in the North*, we stated that Henry Draper married Eleanor *Birkbeck*. According to the *Registers*, Elliner *Byrchbeck* married Robart Meriton or Merrington, 12 April, 1631, and on 24 April, 1636, Ellin *Merrington*, widow, married Henry Draper. They had several children. John, the surviving son, being born 27 Feb. 1639/40.

" Mrs. Ellin Draper " died 22 April, 1649 and Mr. John Draper, Headlam, 13 Jan. 1671/2. There is no entry of the death of John's wife, née Bridget Fell, or of his father.

The Rowntree History

With the recent appearance of *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, written by Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford College, Pa., in two volumes of xxxvi. + 1,020 pages (London : Macmillan, 30s. net), the history of Quakerism planned by the late John Wilhelm Rowntree has reached its completion. We well remember the visit of J. W. Rowntree to Devonshire House on a return from the United States and the energy with which he presented and explained his scheme to the Recording Clerk and the Librarian.

The first two volumes—*Studies in Mystical Religion* and *Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* discover for us an earlier Quakerism in the lives and writings of reformers and mystics of pre-Foxite periods. Then comes *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, by W. C. Braithwaite, carrying the history down to 1660. Next we are carried across to the New World and told of *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, by R. M. Jones. *The Second Period of Quakerism* (1660-1725), by W. C. Braithwaite, follows, and then R. M. Jones, the general editor, brings down the wonderful story to our days in a series of brilliant and scholarly dissertions.

Now, for the benefit of those who cannot or care not to read the seven volumes, Elizabeth B. Emmott has, in the press; *A Short History of Quakerism*, which, within the compass of about 350 pages, summarises the contents and revives the spirit of the nearly 4,000 pages of a work which takes high rank in the literature of Quakerism.

The Journal of William Robson (1797-1881)

A volume, containing 180 pages of typing, has been presented to the Reference Library. It is a copy of the Journal of William Robson (1797-1881), of Darlington and Sunderland, and later of Stockton, co. Durham, son of Nathan Robson and Rachel Brady. He was educated at Ackworth and then apprenticed at Sunderland to a mercer and shipowner. He became a mercer at Darlington, married Rachel Hutchinson (1792-1868) in 1821 and had five sons and one daughter. He was an Elder. The Journal is very full for the period covered—1 mo. 1, 1817 to 5 mo. 6, 1818. The copy is prefaced by Joseph J. Green, dated 19 iii. 1897.

A large percentage of the entries refers to visits to uncles, aunts and cousins with whom he appears to have been well provided, but at intervals we find notes of the books he read—" Memoirs of Agrippina, the Wife of Germanicus " ; Robertson's " History of Charles V," 4 vols. ; life of Anthony Benezet ; Ussher's " Letters " ; " History of the Reign of Catherine 2nd, Empress of Russia." Meetings for Worship and for Discipline received frequent notice and the ministry in the former referred to and sometimes the sermons are reported. Visiting Ministers include Mabel Hipsley and Hannah Broadhead (p. 15), Barbara Hoyland (p. 78), Sarah Abbot and Sarah Hustler (p. 91), Hannah Field of New York, and Elizabeth Fry (spinster) (pp. 122, 124).

This was the day of the woman Minister. Of the local preachers Elizabeth Robson (1771-1843)[1] was the most prominent. Her " appearances " were very frequent. " My Aunt E. R. was engaged twice[2] in testimony, and once in supplication—in the former of which she was engaged in an extraordinary manner, to sound an alarm to the lukewarm and negligent ones " (p. 16) ; " My Aunt Margaret appeared in supplication, my aunt E. R. and Thomas Richardson[3] each twice in testimony " (p. 33). " Mary Brantingham[4] appeared in testimony twice, in which she was engaged to admonish the youth, whom she desired might remember their Creator in the day of their youth that if they were permitted to live until old age, He might not depart from them. I think poor Mary seems to be failing fast, her sentences are often quite unconnected, and she quotes Scripture passages incorrectly " (p. 106). On one Sunday towards the end of 1817, H. Field and E. Fry both spoke and the former prayed. E. Robson also " appeared." After tea at Thomas Robson's some Friends gathered in, when " a great deal of excellent advice was handed," all three again preaching and later H. Field addressed several in the company individually. On the occasion of a funeral Margaret Bragg[5] " could not bring to mind one passage of scripture of a consolatory nature " till she thought of and repeated the words : " Can the Ethiopian change his skin ? etc." Solomon Chapman[6] was among the few men Ministers in Sunderland Meeting at that time.

On 6 mo. 28 we are informed that Frederick Smith[7] and his family had arrived in Darlington to open a school, " to the no small dissatisfaction

of Joseph Sams" (pp. 33, 55)[8]. Towards the end of the year our Diarist "drank tea at cousin Fredk Smiths. . . . I think he and Cousin Selfe are quite an acquisition to the Society at Darlington. They have now got 9 boarders" (p. 115). Joseph Sams (whose wife was "Cousin Mary") was not approved of by the Friends of his Meeting. His wife and he called on the Diarist's Mother during her illness. "Cousin Mary" was invited upstairs but not Joseph, though "he desired to be present at the interview as he was afraid he would be the subject of conversation upstairs, if he did not accompany his wife." Nathan Robson took Joseph to task downstairs, and our Diarist, "having the curiosity to hear their conversation and listening at the door," tells us what transpired! (pp. 144, 145).

Further entries:

"2 mo. 12. 1817. This evening at 10 o'clock the extensive manufactory belonging to E. and J. Pease of Darlington was discovered to be on fire and in a few hours was destroyed, happily no lives were lost."

"2 mo. 13. This day was appointed the first for the exchange of the new for the old silver coinage throughout the Kingdom."

"Took a pipe with T[homas] Robson and D[earman] Robson"—the only reference to smoking noticed.

"5 mo. 2. The Meeting at Darlington has of late years very much decreased and in all probability will be still less. Many have been removed by death and others by marriage." Years later the Meeting greatly increased.

"6 mo. 8. Heard of the forgery committed on Backhouse's Bank, but they having apprehended the delinquents before they have had time to circulate many of the notes (Darlington 5 £s), it is hoped no serious consequences to the Bank will ensue."

There are notices of Daniel Wheeler; and a copy of a letter, "dated from on board the *Loft* on his passage to Petersburgh," appears under 7 mo. 31 (pp. 50, 71).

"8 mo. 13. Gathered from Uncle Thomas Robson considerable information respecting the ancestors of my family. . . . My great grandfather was convinced in Ireland." For an account of "Tommy Robson" see xvi. 46.

Notes.

[1] For Elizabeth Robson see vol. xiv. p. 75.

[2] Ministers not infrequently spoke twice in one meeting, sometimes to expand what had previously been presented, at others introducing fresh matter.

[3] Thomas Richardson (1773-1835) lived at Sunderland. In 1799 he married Elizabeth Backhouse, of Darlington. He was acknowledged a Minister in 1814. He is to be distinguished from Thomas Richardson (1771-1853), of London and Great Ayton, financier and philanthropist.

[4] Darlington M.M. issued an interesting Testimony respecting Mary Brantingham (1751-1834). She was born of poor parents, and was never taught to write. In her youth "she was particularly fond of dancing

and singing." When about 23 she entered the family of a Friend and was greatly influenced for good. Before becoming a Friend she saw she must use the plain language and alter her dress " which were grievous trials." She married Hugh Brantingham and settled near the city of Durham, later removing to Stockton. " The care of a numerous offspring " required much of her time, but she paid several religious visits in the Northern Counties. She was a Minister about 55 years.

[5] Margaret Bragg (1761-1840) was the youngest daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson of Kendal. In 1790 she married Hadwen Bragg (1763-1820), draper, of Newcastle. " She was endowed with a very superior share of natural abilities and possessing an active mind she was induced to take part in the management of a variety of affairs beyond the generality of her sex " (Testimony). It would be interesting to know more of this line of service. A silhouette of M. Bragg is reproduced in *The Society of Friends in Newcastle*, 1899.

[6] Solomon Chapman (1750-1838) was born at Whitby and removed to Sunderland in 1768. In 1772 he married Jane Ogden (certificate in **D**). " This Solomon was a person of much consideration in the neighbourhood of Sunderland and a very stern Friend of the old School—a Minister somewhat formal and sententious in speech " (Beck's *Family Fragments* 1897, p. 47).

[7] Henry Frederick Smith (-1862) was a son of the noted Minister and chemist, Frederick Smith (1757-1823), of London and Croydon. In 1804 he married Selfe (Self—e) Pease (1781-1871). Their grandson was the Hebrew scholar, Samuel Rolles Driver (1846-1914). Joseph Foster states that H. F. Smith died in America (*Pease of Darlington*, 1891, p. 27). The school is described by William Hodgson, of Sheffield and Philadelphia, as " a collegiate school where the sons of Friends could have advantages of a good education without the exposure of University life " (*Letters and Memoirs*, 1886, p. 8). The school was removed into Essex, according to a circular, without date, mentioned in Joseph Smith's Supplementary Catalogue : " Smith, Henry Frederick, of Darlington—Circular addressed to Friends on the Removal of his Academy from Darlington to Wood House, near Little Ilford, Essex. 4to. No date."

[8] For Joseph Sams (1784-1860), schoolmaster and bookseller, see article in next volume.

John de Marsillac

See vols. xv, xvi, xviii, xix.

" 9 mo. 18, 1795. I went yesterday to Philadelphia, and attended the meeting for sufferings, at which was John De Marselac, a Frenchman, who seems conscientiously concerned for the support of truth upon its right foundation."

Journal of William Blakey (*c.* 1738-1822), in Comly, *Misc.* iv. 123.

Thomas Wells (1799-1879)

A BRIEF statement of this ministering Friend, still remembered in this generation, may be placed on record.

He was born at Tewkesbury, Glos., and belonged to the Wesleyan Society before joining Friends. In 1827 he emigrated to the United States. His introduction to Friends is described in a letter from William Procter from Baltimore in Fifth Month, 1828 (ms. in **D**, sht. 4, p. 3; see *Jnl.* xix. 1):

"In the evening a young English man I think named Thomas Wells, called to see Geo. & A. Jones who quarter at I. Pauls but were gone to New York. I. P. tells me he brought his Certificate from England addressed to Washington where he went, but became so dissatisfied with the public communications of Thomas Weatherald & Edward Stabler that he would not give in his Certificate, but returned to Phila. I.P. also informed that this was the individual who appeared at considerable length a short time before the close of the last sitting of the Y.M. [Philadelphia, 1828]."

T. Wells was employed for several years in some industrial schools for the Indians and coloured people under the care of Friends; this was relinquished in the Spring of 1844.

"In 1863, soon after the death of his wife, he returned to this country, since which time he visited every Monthly Meeting and almost every Preparative Meeting in Great Britain and Ireland" (Testimony). He died at Great Ayton, Yorkshire—"an acknowledged Minister forty-five years."

In the *Historical Sketch of Kansas Y.M.*, 1921, p. 47, we read:

"In 1881 Thomas Wells of England bequeathed $1,000 to Kansas Y.M. to be invested and conserved by Trustees with the direction 'that the annual proceeds of said fund be applied towards the education of younger members of the Y.M. in limited circumstances, at a school under the charge of said Y.M.'"

Jn° Shaw School Master at Brookside in Yorkshire having been prison^r w^th his Bro^r near 2 years for their Testimony ags^t Tythes by w^ch meanes his school came to be broken up, But now writes to B Bealing y^t he has a ffriend to supply his place in his school y^t can write better than himselfe and can Teach both Lattin Greek & Arithmitick—If any ffri^ds are minded to send their Child^n to his school his Bro^r is willing to Table y^m & he hopes they will be suff^tly Taught——

[ffrom the 2 weeks meet. y^e 28 $\frac{6.}{mo}$ 1699. to y^e Mo Meet at Horslydowne Sent p s^d meet^s ord^r by B. BEALING.

Southwark MSS. in **D**, vol. i.

Rachel Wilson and George Whitefield

ABOUT the year 1764 Rachel Wilson held several public meetings at Bristol. George Whitefield, having been at one of those meetings, applied to the late Joseph Fry to contrive some mode of being introduced (as he expressed it) to this very extraordinary woman: this was done next morning at Richard Champion's, where they breakfasted together and talked for a while on occasional subjects. After breakfast was over, and the servants had cleared all away, George Whitefield informed her of his having sat under her ministry with great pleasure the day before. She expressed satisfaction, but intimated that if she had in any degree edified her audience it was all owing to the bounty or kindness of Infinite Wisdom, who only could give the ability. George Whitefield replied, "I heartily agree, Madam, with what you say, for little indeed can be attributed to the creature. I am at times tempted to envy your preachers for the advantage they almost exclusively enjoy of silently waiting upon God before they stand up to minister. When *they* stand forth they have nothing to do but to go on, being like clouds filled with water and ready to discharge it; but, according to our custom, as soon as I am seen in the pulpit, I am expected to begin, and must begin with something. It often happens that, although I can observe great willingness to hear the word, and feel a strong desire in myself to preach it profitably, yet I am as a pump, the handle of which must be long used before any water will come. This is very mortifying; but God, who knows my good intentions, sometimes, after long labor of this sort, is graciously pleased to assist me with His Holy Spirit, and then indeed I am as a cloud discharging its rain to the joy and refreshment of the whole heritage."

I understood, says the writer, that Rachel Wilson expressed her surprise and pleasure in hearing a declaration so unexpected from one who had been educated for the priesthood of the National Church, and that they parted with mutual expressions of regard, and best desires for each others welfare.

The Power of the Press

RICHARD FARNSWORTH, writing to Thomas Aldam, who is in York prison, in an undated letter now in **D**, in the course of instructions to read and then have printed a book which R.F. sends in MS., says:

"the truth doth spread much abroad by the Bookes that is in Printe, & now there is as many written as is suffitient for the Downefall of Antichrist's Kingdome."

Instruction follows that T.A. do not fail in getting the book printed.

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

The Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City, are importers of Friends' literature.

Many of the books in D may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to the Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

IT has sometimes been suggested that a useful method of presenting the story of early Quakerism and especially the life-history of George Fox, would be county wise or district wise.[1] This has been undertaken for the county of Lancaster by the Rev. Benjamin Nightingale, M.A., Litt.D., in his *Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire* (London: Congregational Union, 8¾ by 5½, pp. 220, 7s. 6d. net). The book is divided into three chapters—(1) George Fox in Lancashire, (2) The Witnessing Facts ("Besse's Sufferings"; "First Publishers of Truth"; Conventicle Returns of 1669; Church Papers; and Records of Quarter Sessions) and (3) Steadfast in Suffering. In Chapter 1. G. Fox's incursions into the County Palatine are set out. Referring to a map in "The Beginnings of Quakerism," Mr. Nightingale writes:

"From the Ribble to the Humber, the little round dots indicating Quaker centres are somewhat numerous; and the bit of Lancashire with contiguous Westmorland, which skirts Morecombe Bay, presents quite a cluster of them. Apart from this, however, Lancashire appears almost entirely free."

But, as a result of his researches, the author thus concludes his first chapter:

"Far more widespread was the movement in Lancashire during the first 60 or 70 years of its existence than is generally supposed; and it is this fact which this work is intended to make clear."

Chapter 2 contains many lists of names arranged according to residence. There are notes to some of them—of Friends taken mainly from the Camb. "Jnl.," of others from such sources as the same author's "The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland"; "The Commonwealth Church Survey"; and Calamy's "Account of Ejected Ministers." It seems a pity that the extracts from the Church Papers in the Registry Office, Chester, should include many names known to be those of Papist Recusants; it is excusable to insert the names of sufferers whose religious associations are not clear, but neither set of names can be adduced as definite proof of the widespread of Quakerism in Lancashire. Nor can surely the insertion of names of persons presented for "playing football in time of divine service"!

* Another book with references to Friends in the early days in the same district is *Lancashire Association Oath Rolls, A.D. 1696*, edited by Wallace Gandy, and printed for private distribution by the editor,

[1] As for instance in Dr. Butler's *George Fox in Scotland.*

* = not in **D.**

4, Vernon Place, London, W.C.1. The plot against the life of William III., formed in 1695, had failed owing to its disclosure, but it proved of good service to the King by the skilful manipulation of his ministers. Parliament was aroused to enthusiasm and a form of association was drawn up and signed by practically every member of both Houses. The agitation travelled far and wide and county Associations formed; the oath was carried into every county, and Parliament legalised the movement by passing "An Act for the better security of His Majesty's Royal Person and Government," and introducing a form of oath to be taken. A special clause (§ xiii.) was introduced relieving Friends from the oath and substituting a simple form of affirmation, but there still remained the question of military defence.

The list of the names of the signers of the Lancashire Association occupies over fifty pages, the names being given under districts. Many names, apparently Quaker, appear in the lists. Under Hawkeshead there is a list of five names of "Quakers y^t^ will not subscribe: John Walker, Clement Satterthwait, Nick: Tyson, Tho: Dover, and James Braithwait" (page 85). Under Urswick we read: "these be the which doth refuse to subscribe theire names all in bardsye"—John Shoricke, James Ethericke and John Goad (page 81). Under Wenington, Robert Gerces declares: "I am Willing to be a trew subiext but not to take up any carnall weapon," and Will. Carns states: "I am willing to be a true subiext but not to take up any carnall weapon to feught with all." (page 63).

By the kindness of J. Harvey Bloom, M.A., a copy of a document "touching the Present Association" is in **D**, with names of many Friends of Colchester, dated 1 ii (Apl.), 1696.

Our Friend, Professor Rayner W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, has contributed to *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (vol. xlv. no. 179, July, 1921, just out), a copy of a letter written by Johann Christoph Sauer (1693-1758), recently arrived in the New World (1724), to friends in Europe, giving a description of the new country and some particulars of the voyage. Further details of the life of Sauer (Sower) are to be found in the "Genealogical Chart of Descendants of Christopher Sower," Phila. 1887, prepared by Charles G. Sower.

In 1900, the Library of Congress at Washington, D.C., purchased the original French manuscript of the Journal of the Travels of Theophile Cazenove (1740-1811), through New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1794. Our Friend, Professor Rayner W. Kelsey, Ph.D., of Haverford College, with assistance from various experts ("Seldom probably does so small a volume as this one owe its existence to so many craftsmen"—Preface), has caused this Journal to be translated, and printed, as *Cazenove Journal, 1794*. (Haverford College Studies, No. 13, published by the Pennsylvania History Press, Haverford, Pa., 9 by 5¾, pp. xvii + 103, $1.80 postpaid.) The *voyageur* set forth from New York, passed through New Jersey, crossed the Delaware at Easton and called at Bethlehem, Reading, Lebanon, Harrisburg, Chambersburg (called by the financier of the

expedition "Roumetoune"!), and Lancaster, ending at Philadelphia, where, on Market Street, he established himself for several years, entertaining liberally, before returning to Europe in 1799.

There are, unfortunately, but few and casual references to Friends—at Reading, Pa., "there is a German church—one of Quakers"; near Reading "Mr. Nicholson has the large farm worked by a Quaker farmer," said, in a note, to be "a Mr. Evans"; in Chester County, Pa., "English Presbyterians and Quakers prevail"; on page 50 of the manuscript there is "a rough diagram in semicircles indicating the author's idea of the various layers of Pennsylvania population"—"*first nucleus*, Quakers, *second layer* Germans, *third layer*, beyond the Susquehanna, Irish and Scotch, *fourth layer*, beyond the mountains, Irish, Scotch, and New Englanders." We should have been glad of more notices of Friends, especially as, judging by the way the German inhabitants are dealt with, they would be free and frank. But that Cazenove came into contact with many Friends seems evident from what he writes under Morristown, N.J.: "A new Presbyterian church; an Anabaptist; a Methodist; neither a Quaker nor a Catholic [church]." There is a good Index. The copy of the book in **D** was presented by the compiler. Dr. Kelsey is engaged in research into the history of agriculture in rural Pennsylvania.

In the *Transactions of the Cumb. and West. Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, for 1921 (vol. xxi. n.s. Kendal: Titus Wilson & Son, pp. 316), there is a short article on Greenrigg, Caldbeck, in which we read:

"One of the many farmhouses in the parish of Caldbeck, known by the name of Greenrigg, was for a period of over 200 years the home of the maternal ancestors of John Dalton, the celebrated chemist. . . . I regret to say that Greenrigg, having been unoccupied for some 30 years, was falling into decay, but it is in such an out-of-the-way place that it is difficult to get it repaired."

There is also reference to the Bewley family of Woodhall in the parish of Caldbeck.

The half century of Kansas Yearly Meeting has been brought into view in a *Semi-centennial Historical Sketch of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends*, written by Henry C. and Melissa S. Fellow (Wichita, Kansas: Friends' Book Supply, pp. 60, with illustrations). This is a record of remarkable work in advancing the cause of Christ in new and unsettled country. The first Friends' meeting was held in Benajah Hiatt's cabin in Second Month, 1856, the place becoming known later as Springdale. Kansas Y.M. was opened at Lawrence, 10 mo. 5, 1872. "Because of this great gathering of Quakers in Kansas, Enos Pray and Verlin K. Stanley conducted an excursion train of sixteen passenger cars loaded with Hoosier Quaker immigrants and visitors from Indianapolis to Lawrence." "Sterling Quarterly Meeting has given to the world the greatest woman Quaker preacher of the West in Mary Sibbitt, a W.C.T.U. lecturer of national reputation."

In our last volume (xviii. 102) we referred to George Philip & Son's series of Piers Plowman Social and Economic Histories—Another volume is to hand, being Book I *Primeval Times to 1066*, by J. J. Bell, M.A., pp. 256, thirty-eight illustrations and nine maps, price 3s. net. The General Editor remarks that the books were " written in order to depict, for the young of whatever age, some of the conditions and changes which have marked the lives of ordinary folk in past times." This short book covers a long period—from ? 627,000 B.C. to 1066 A.D. ! It is most interesting and instructive reading.

The history of the publication known as " Bradshaw's Railway Guide " has often been the subject of books and papers, but probably none of these has treated the history so fully as the *Early Railway Time Tables*," written by E. H. Dring and printed in " The Library " for December, 1921 (vol. ii. no. 3), where it occupies thirty-seven pages.

In *Wiltshire Essays*, by Maurice Hewlett (London : Milford, 6¾ by 4½, pp. 234, 6s. 6d. net), there are two sections relating to Friends—" The One Thing Needful " and " Faith and Works at Present." Maurice Hewlett, a non-Friend, recently visited a number of Meetings to speak on the subject of international goodwill. (" The Friend " (Lond.), 1921, p. 86.)

Mr. Thomas Wright, the headmaster of the Cowper School at Olney, Bucks, has brought out another edition of his *Life of William Cowper* (London : Farncombe, 8¾ by 5½, pp. viii + 368, thirty illustrations and genealogical table of the Cowper Family, 12s. 6d. net, edition de luxe one guinea). The first edition was dated 1892 and since then many letters have come to light and incidents relating to the Poet.

From time to time, in Quaker publications, there have been references to Cowper and some of them have found their way into Mr. Wright's handsome volume.

The grandfather of the Poet was Judge Spencer Cowper (1669-1728), about whose trial in 1699 for the murder of Sarah Stout, the Quakeress, of Hertford, there is much information in **D**. Mr. Wright states the case briefly :

" She had conceived for him an unfortunate passion, which he, as a married man, could not honourably return, and had done his best to discourage. She brooded over her infatuation till it obsessed her mind and plunged her into melancholia. He dined (in the afternoon) and supped with her on March 13th, 1699, and before leaving paid her the interest due on a mortgage which he had arranged on her behalf. She earnestly pressed him to stay the night. He declined ; but, nevertheless, she persisted in her entreaties, till finally, in order to settle matters and avoid scandal, he got up and left the house shortly before 11 p.m. and returned to his lodgings. Next morning Sarah Stout's dead body was found floating in a mill-stream called the Priory River. In May Spencer Cowper was arrested and charged with having murdered her. The trial took place at Hertford Summer Assizes in July, 1699. The evidence against him was flimsy, and he was acquitted. He was, however, subsequently subjected by his political enemies to continuous persecution."

The letter from Frederick Smith (p. 304) and the visit by William Crotch (p. 338) are taken from THE JOURNAL. There is also a reference (p. 233) to a " Jack-of-all-trades named Maurice Smith," whose wife was a Quaker, and who arranged for Lady Hesketh, the Poet's cousin, to inhabit the Vicarage at Olney. This was Ann, wife of Maurice Smith, of Newport, Bucks., who died in 1804, aged 63. There were several Quaker Smiths at Olney.

In addition to the story of the somewhat uneventful life of the Poet (1731-1800) we have many incidents in the lives of his friends, who were made famous by their association with him, and much interest attaches to the events which are in the background of many of Cowper's poems.

The Cowper Society, founded in 1900, unites the students and admirers of the Poet in a bond of common interest. Mr. Thomas Wright is the Secretary.

This is the day of the index. The latest to arrive is *General Index to Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vols. I—X (1906-1921). The editor is Prof. R. W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, and the volume can be obtained for $1.80 post paid from the Treasurer of the Hist. Soc., 142 N. 16th Street, Phila. The Index contains over 5,000 entries. We echo the hope that " this General Index may guide every searcher promptly to his objective and encourage all authors and publishers of Quaker history to make their contributions similarly accessible."

Notes on Yearly Meeting, 1922, presented by A. Neave Brayshaw.

In *The Schools Journal*, vol. I. no. 6 (May, 1922) there are notes on the history of Penketh and Wigton Schools—a well managed magazine.

---

* The first of the *Handful of Stars—Texts that moved Great Minds* (London : Epworth Press, 7½ by 5, pp. 255, 6s. net), is called " William Penn's Text." The section on William Penn is a curious production—it begins with his treaty as though the date of it anteceded his Quakerism, and then states : " Strangely enough it was a Quaker who fired the young man's fancy with this proud ambition. Thomas Loe was William Penn's good angel," which is news to us ! T. Loe was very helpful to Penn and introduced him to the tenets of his faith, years before emigration to a home in the West was thought of. And as to the text, Loe's words were : " There is a faith that overcometh the world and there is a faith that is overcome by the world," which, though based upon the text : " This is the victory that overcometh the world even our faith," were the words spoken from and *not* from the text.

In *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (vol. xlv., no. 180, October, 1921) there appears an address by Hon. Hampton L. Carson, delivered before the Hist. Soc. Pa. in December, 1921, on " The

Life and Works of Benjamin West," a twenty-page illustrated article. Regarding West's birth (" October 10, 1738, on what is now the campus of Swarthmore College "), we read :

" There has been a spirited controversy among writers as to whether he was a Quaker or not. Mr. Galt, his biographer, contends that he was a Quaker. Dr. Sharpless . . . insisted that he was a Quaker, and you will find Dr. Sharpless's testimony to that effect in the West family Bible loaned us by Mr. Howard Edwards. Charles Henry Hart was of opinion that inasmuch as John West himself, the father of Benjamin, was not in good standing in Quaker Meeting, Benjamin could not have been a Quaker.[2] . . .

" The important thing that is manifest is that West's talent and zeal and persistency were not characteristic of Quakers. . . . yet the story is told of encouragement extended to the boy by Pennington and Williamson, both of whom were strict Quakers."

An interesting contribution to early Colonial history has been made by Thomas Willing Balch (1412 Spruce Street, Philadelphia), a vice-president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in his little book *The Cradle of Pennsylvania* (Phila., 1921, 41 pp.). Before contracting his historical review to his own State, he surveys the general field of the settlement by Europeans of the Eastern sea-board. Virginia was settled in 1607, Jamestown Island being the first birthplace of the U.S. of America. Then came Massachusetts with the settlement at Plymouth.

Then appeared other European nations—The United Netherlands had settlers on the Hudson River in 1612 and founded " New Amsterdam " in " New Netherlands." Then they crossed over into what is now New Jersey, so that the present States of New York and New Jersey look to Hollanders as their original white inhabitants. This applies also to the State of Delaware, 1631, " but owing to the inability of the Hollanders to live on amicable terms with the red men, the latter rose in their wrath six months after the founding of the Dutch settlement and wiped it out of existence."

In 1638 a Swedish expedition began a Swedish settlement near the present City of Wilmington, Delaware, and succeeded the Dutch settlement.

But what about the district now the State of Pennsylvania ? From Sweden in 1642, Colonel Johan Printz was sent out as governor of " New Sweden," the bounds of which he was at liberty to decide as he thought best. He was not satisfied with the district already peopled, but he sailed further up the Delaware River and " decided that the lower end of Great Tene-Kongh or Tinicum Island was the place to establish the site of the capital and government of New Sweden." " This was the first permanent white colony settled within the area of the State of Pennsylvania and Johan Printz became the first executive in the line of governors now represented by the Governor of Pennsylvania."[3] For a short time—from

[2] See *Jnl. F.H.S.*, vi. 99.

[3] This statement has been called in question by another Pennsylvanian historian, who writes the Editor :

" Calling Printz the first in the line of Penna. Governors is, at least, questionable. The main Swedish settlements were down the river and

1643 to 1655—the Swedes held sway, the government passing into the hands of the Netherlands at the latter date, till 1664, when the English came into possession by conquest.

The all-absorbing ability of the English coloniser is illustrated by the way, either by purchase or conquest, the colonies from other lands—Holland, Sweden, France, Spain, Russia—came under English control.

The naming of the tract of land granted to William Penn in 1682 as Pennsylvania in honour of the Admiral, Sir William Penn (not named after his son, the Proprietor, as is sometimes supposed), has caused the general reader to think of the history of the Province as beginning at that time. It is well that we should be reminded that the foundations were laid years before Penn's day, and that when Penn arrived he found many settlers of various nationalities along the coastal districts. Also the prominence given to the treaty of William Penn with the Indians at Shackamaxon, and Voltaire's reference to it, have overshadowed previous treaties with the red men before Penn's time. "It is all but forgotten that the policy of fair dealings with the Indians inaugurated at Tinicum by Governor Printz and the Swedes prevented the breaking out of war between the pale faces and the red men in the area of our State through the Dutch period and the English period until the coming of William Penn. That was a precious beginning upon which the great Quaker statesman knew well how to build and under his leadership peace with the Indians continued for many more years."

This little book was written for the purpose of arousing interest in Printz and perpetuating his memory.

The main authority on the subject of early Colonial colonisation is "Swedish Settlements on the Delaware," by Amandus Johnson, 2 vols., Phila., 1911.

We are glad to find several historical articles in the current *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* (Seventh Month, 1922). John E. Southall tells us of "Life at Bootham, Fifty Years Ago"; L. V. Holdsworth, in her usual delightful way, places "Mary England's Dream" in a Quaker setting—perhaps not quite sufficiently American; and the life of William Stout (1665-1752), of Lancaster, has a welcome re-telling by J. Aubrey Rees, though he gives no date of either birth or death and does not refer to the printed life of Stout, taken from his manuscript, published in 1851. A few minor inaccuracies are noticeable in the last-named paper.

In last year's volume (xviii. 36) we referred to a book compiled by Walter J. Kaye, B.A., F.S.A., containing records of Harrogate and nearby places. We have now had the opportunity to inspect this volume (*Records*

---

not in the present Pa. Also the Swedish rule ended in 1655, and there is a long gap with only the nominal rule of the Dutch and then the English. He is certainly not in the *direct* line of governors, and the later province of Pa., as an entity, was a quite different domain, of which Printz merely happened to touch the fringe for a very brief period."

of Harrogate, etc., 9 by 5¾, pp. xxxii. + 237, from Author, Pembroke, Park View, Harrogate, one guinea). It is a remarkable collection of nformation on the history of Harrogate; and the many facts which evolve from registers, etc., throw much light upon the past. As specimens of the contents we print here some extracts relating to Friends.

On page 62, we have the following notice of a marriage:

"1654 Octo: y^e^ 22^d^. Bryan Wilkinson of y^e^ towne & pish of Whyxley & Margret Hogg of Harrowgate in y^e^ pish of Knaresbrough wear this day Marryed togeather haveing first been published thre Severall Markett dayes in y^e^ Markett place att Knaresbrough viz. y^e^ 27^th^ of Septem and y^e^ tow Market dayes next after & Marryed in y^e^ p̄sence of Nicholas Pawson, Katheren Bestt & others & of me [? Arthur Burton,[4] vicar]."

The corresponding Quaker record appears in the Yorkshire Registers:

"Bryan Wilkinson, of Whixley, & Margaret Hogg, at the house of Thomas Taylor, of Brighouse, 1654–8–15. Knaresbrough M.M."

It thus appears that after announcement thrice in the Market Place (the first on Sept. 27), the Friends' marriage took place at Thomas Taylor's on the 15th of October, and on the 22nd a civil marriage concluded the matter.

Among local references in the West Riding Quaker Sessions Records, extracted by Walter J. Kaye, B.A., F.S.A., and printed in his book, *Records of Harrogate*, 1922, we find the following which refers to Friends:

"1655, 10 July. Skipton. Thomas Warriner of Knaresbrough, dyer, John Hogg, Harrowgate, Linnen Webster, & John Geldart, Rippon, shoemaker, as Idle & disorderly p̄sons resortenge to the p̄ish Church of Knaresbrough, 6 May 1655 beeing the Lords day in the sermon tyme when & where the word of God was preached & taught, & praires to God donne & p̄formed by Mathewe Booth clerke, minister of the Gospell & preacher of the word of God for that p̄ish, did not onely unreuerantly beehave themselues dureinge praires by standinge before the sayd minister with theire hatts on theire heads, but Imediatly after the sayd sermon & praires in the forenoone of the sayd day was finished, the sayd Thomas Warriner, John Hogg, & John Geldart of theire owne authorities Wilfully Contemptuously & Maliciously & of purpose to scandalize the truth then publiquely delivered & taught to the p̄sh^i^on^s^ of the sayd p̄ish, & to scandall & defame the sayd Mathew Booth, did in the heareing of the Congregaçon of the p̄sh^i^on^s^ & other good Christian people then & there assembled in the sayd p̄ish Church for hearinge the word of God & praire, speake p̄nounce & publish with a loud voyce these false & scandalous Words to the sayd Mathew Booth, Stay; thou runnes^t^, runn not, keepe thy place, thou preachest false doctrine, thou arte Antychriste, & preachest: Loe heare loe there (meaneing him the sayd Mathew Booth); & afterwards charged the people p̄sent as they tendered theire owne soules not to heare nor bee Ledd with such blynde guides, hyrelings, false Prophetts & deceivers of the people, & other Rayleinge & revyleinge speeches, To the greate scandall of the word of god then & there preached & taught by the said Mathew Booth, beeing a grave, deligent, orthodoxx, godly preacher of y^e^ gospell of Jesus Christe, Lawfully thereunto authorized & ag^t^ the publique peace of the Comon Wealth of England & ag^t^ the forme of diverse

[4] A previous entry and a subsequent one have "Arthur Burton, Vicar," after the word "me."

statutes & to the evill example of others ꝑhaine & wicked ꝑsons to ꝑpetrate the like offence. Traverse not guilty."

Joseph Besse's record of this case of "brawling" is as follows:

"1655. John Hogg, Thomas Warriner and John Geldart were detained in the Castle of York eight weeks being accused of disturbing the Priest at Knaresborough."

A terrible tale of peril on the sea is unfolded in the diary of Charles Edward Smith, published under the title *From the Deep of the Sea. An Epic of the Arctic* (London: A. & C. Black, 9 by 5¾, pp. xii. + 288, with numerous sketches, taken from the diary, and two maps, half-a-guinea net).

Charles Edward Smith, M.D. (1837-1876), was a son of Charles Smith of Coggeshall, Essex, a Friend well-known in that district. He was a scholar at Ackworth from 1850 to 1852 and a Junior Teacher from 1853-1858. Then he studied medicine in Edinburgh and as it was a common practice among Edinburgh medical students to go whaling he signed on as a surgeon on the Diana of Hull. His diary of his voyage to the Arctic, after being many years in the possession of his son, Dr. Charles Edward Smith Harris, has now been edited by him and given to the world.

The S.S. Diana left Hull in February, 1866, and returned in April to Lerwick in the Shetlands after an unsuccessful sealing expedition. In May, she left again for the North on a whaling expedition. It was another unsuccessful voyage.

"Altogether the whaling season of 1866 has been one of the most remarkable for the complete subversion of wind, weather, seas, ice, climate and bad fishing that ever was heard of" (page 44). The Diana "returned from her perilous voyage, broken but not defeated, fourteen months later, having been frozen in for over six months" (page 272).

We would give our readers various extracts from the diary which Dr. Smith, with wonderful determination, wrote at the time the events happened which he recorded, but must be content with the following and commend a perusal of the whole of this recital of marvellous physical and mental endurance:

"February 15, 1867. This time last year I signed this ship's articles in the shipping office at Hull. Now what a change has come over me! Here I am, sitting in the cabin, shivering with cold, my clothes worn out and in rags and tatters, hungry and famished with more than five months privations, with no near prospect of escaping from the ice, with a horrible and certain death staring us in the face should we lose our ship or our provisions run short, men sinking and failing daily before my eyes, myself as weak and feeble as a child, perhaps with my turn to die coming next" (page 189).

The editor closes his Preface with the words: "I might add that my father was a Quaker, which accounts for the somewhat quaint phraseology." We think that beneath the wording is abundant evidence of Dr. Smith's religious upbringing in a Quaker family, as for instance when he wrote: "We have need for all our skill, foresight and seamanship just now, but far more need for God's guidance and protection, without which all our efforts are in vain"—"We are frozen up now in the ice, drifting to and fro entirely dependent upon the mercy and protection of the Almighty who alone can preserve our frail shelter from sudden destruction" (pages 73, 77).

See inset with this issue.

Recent Accessions to D

IN addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading "Friends and Current Literature," the following items have been added to **D** during the last few months:

J. Frances Mather, of Hobart, Tas., has presented a MS. written by his father, Joseph Benson Mather, entitled "A Short Account of the Rise and Progress of the Society of Friends in Tasmania." It was drawn up in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Society, and read at a meeting held in 1883.

Joseph Sanderson, of Cross Hills, has presented a copy of extracts from the manuscript books of Joseph Brown[1] (*c.* 1751—1803), of Lothersdale, who died in York Castle and whose death was the subject of Montgomery's poem "Spirit, leave thy house of clay." Brown wrote of his "dear master," Roger Swire, of Conondley, an Anglican, whose sudden death took place in 1778, words of high praise in both prose and poetry. He also wrote, in verse, "A Soliloquy by a Fieldwaller at Work," "musing with myself concerning my solitary employment, walling for Roger Swire, Esq., and being of a Rhyming disposition."

Joseph Brown tells us "As to school learning I have nothing to boast of, for a month or six weeks at most was all the time I ever spent there, and that was when I was very young, so that what I am now capable of performing in the Scholastic Science is what I have gained by private improvement. My early inclinations to poetry, appears from the following rhime which I made when I was very young:

> "Each man to something gives his eager mind,
> And mine to poetry is much inclined."

Consequent upon the death of his "worthy and honoured master," a brother, Samuel Swire, came into the district "who had so far initiated in the offices of a Clergyman as to bear the title of Doctor of Divinity"—and Brown made his acquaintance through his writings respecting his late master. Swire lent him books on the understanding that he would write his views on them for him. He wrote:

"I read the prose works of Edward Young with eagerness and delight . . . but as to Shakespear I hardly know what to say to it, for I am not convinced how any real benefit can be reaped from the perusal of dramatic performance.[2] I think Young's letters on Pleasure a sufficient antidote against such compositions, for tho' they are diverting and taking with the natural fancy, yet they are according to my apprehension to be calculated more for diversion and amusement than for edification; but as I don't properly understand them, I will leave my farther sentiments undetermined, for 'he that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is a shame and a folly unto him.'"

[1] These are in the possession of Mr. Boocock, of Barnoldswick, Colne, Lancs.

[2] For views on Shakespeare of another Friend, John Griscom (1774-1852), of U.S.A., see *Later Periods of Quakerism*, p. 689.

The letter concludes with further sentiments in rhyme and there is a "P.S. All favours will be gratefully accepted and thankfully acknowledged."

Markham, vicar of Carlton, who caused Brown and other Friends to be interned in York Castle, must have been a man of a different stamp from Samuel Swire, of Coalshill near Farringdon, Berks.

Charles F. Jenkins has presented a copy of *Passages from the Diary of Christopher Marshall of Philadelphia, 1774-1777* (generally known as Marshall's "Remembrancer"), Phila., 1839-1849, vol. i (? all issued), 193 pages. There are numerous references to the corporate action of Friends in this stirring period and to various individual Friends. Christopher Marshall (1709-1797) was active on the Whig side and was disowned by Friends in consequence. See xix. 52.

Francis C. Clayton, of Birmingham, has presented an illuminated genealogical tree of the Marriage Family, commencing with Francis and Mary Marriage, *cir.* 1650, and continued to the year 1921. This copy is numbered 20.

A. Neave Brayshaw has presented a scrap of the writing of George Fox, the special interest of which being that it is a portion of a Hebrew exercise, the Hebrew written in English characters with the English words opposite. (For Fox's knowledge of Hebrew see vols. vi., xv.)

Some Notes of a Trip from Liverpool to New York, etc., in the Year 1908, by Alfred Newsom. Alfred Newsom (1831-1921) was a son of William and Phœbe Newsom, of Limerick. In 1868 he married Susanna, daughter of Samuel Davis, of Clonmel. He moved to the old family residence of his relatives the Wilsons of Mount Wilson, near Edenderry, Kings Co. in 1887.

The History of Banbury, by Alfred Beesley, London, 1841, 681 pp. with many engravings. Alfred Beesley (*c.* 1800-1847) was a Friend by birth but joined the Established Church. He was an astronomer and botanist. There are references to Friends on pp. 451, 465, 482, 623, in connection with Samuel Wells (1614-), the Puritan Minister of Banbury, whose "unjust actions" are the subject of a long letter from Thomas Curtis, *anno* 1655 (p. 624).

By the kindness of Lydia M. Hutchinson of Cransley Grange, Broughton, near Kettering, a copy of a manuscript, entitled "Genealogical Sketches," has been added to the department of manuscripts in the Devonshire House Reference Library. The original was written about 1820 by Mary Bowen.

Section I opens with the marriage of Matthew Mair (d. 1724), son of John Mair, of Rhennish, with Elizabeth, daughter of William Lister, of Tunstall, 12 iii. 1697, both homes being in the Holderness district of South East Yorkshire.

The descendants are worked out for many generations and include the families of Raine, Hopkins, Thorp, Wilson, Hawkes, Petchell, Sutton, Stansfield, Benington, Kitching, Clark, Hutchinson, Bowen, Stephenson, Masterman.

Isaac Stephenson (1694-1783) married Ann Raine in 1719 and Frances Hebden in 1726, and then, many years later, about 1761, Elizabeth Mair (*c.* 1741-1795). There was issue by the third marriage only—four children, the last of whom was born when his father was 80. It is said that his third marriage did not meet with the approval of his friends,[3] but it resulted in the gift to the Society of many valuable members—of the families of Rowntree, Backhouse, Neave, Brayshaw, Grace, etc.—sprung from Isaac, Junr. (1765-1830), Anne (1768-1835), who married John Bowron, and Elizabeth (1771-1843), who married Thomas Robson of Sunderland and Liverpool.

There has recently been deposited at Devonshire House an ancient register with the following title :

1659

watchuen Register :

ffor the people of God (which thare meete togeather in his feare to waite vpon him To Record the Births, marriages and deathes of them and thire children, and alsoe some of the sufferinges which thay haue sustained by the vntoward generation (for consience sake) since thay seperated from the worlds waies, worshipes, priestes, temples, tiethes, and customes of the heathen, which are vaine and abominable before ye lord ; whose worshipe is in the spirit, and in the truth

HENRY MOORE, Reg^r^

The manuscript is endorsed :

Burnham in Somerset
Register
Births marriages & deaths

The Register is oblong in form—6½ ins. by 15½ ins. and written on parchment, the cover being an old indenture of 1600.

Henry Moore, of Burnham, the registrar (*c.* 1619-1685), was a son of William Moore, of Burnham (d. 1629), and Magdalen, his wife (d. 1658). His first wife was Mary Rogers, of Burnham (married 1645, died 1654), his second wife was Mary Gundry, of Street (married 1658, died 1660) and his third wife was Rachel Jobbins, of Backwell (married 1661, died 1685). At the foot of the indenture, in another hand, is written :

" Intention of Marriage betweene H : M : & R : J : published in a meeting at watchven and in a meetinge at y^e^ widdow Bryants House at Naylsey, y^e^ 28 day of the second moneth 1661 And at a generall Meetinge at Mary Whitinges House at Naylsey y^e^ 1^st^ day of y^e^ 3^d^ Moneth, And alsoe at Axbridge in y^e^ market y^e^ 4^th^ day of y^e^ 3^d^ Moneth 1661, and Married at Burton y^e^ 15^th^ day of y^e^ 3^d^ Moneth 1661."

3 " Neither in the Yorkshire Registers nor in the minutes of Bridlington M.M. can I find mention of the marriage of Isaac Stephenson, the Elder—though soon after the marriage begin the entries in the Registers of the births of children."—A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW, 1922.

As a preface to the Register, Henry Moore wrote, in 1672, an epitome of Church history occupying 3¼ pages in a clear, closely-written hand, on paper, coming down to the times of Quakerism and referring to imprisonment of 250 Friends at Ilchester, also the Acts "one for banishment and the other for confiscation of goods for meeting togeather above fower to preach and pray and worship god." (See xvii. 100.)

On the parchment are 4¾ pages of births, 4½ pages of marriages and 3 pages of deaths. There is also 1½ pages of Sufferings. The earliest date is 1648 and the latest is 1731. Prominent among the entries are the names of Moore, Petherham, Wride, Toomer, Hilbert, Clark, Clothier, Gould, Jeffry, Counsell.

Journal of Rufus Hall (1744-1818), of Easton and Northampton in the State of New York (Bybury, Pa., 1840, 176 pages), recently acquired by gift from the J. W. Rowntree, Scalby, Library, is specially interesting as supplying an early reference to the incident made known by the skilful pen of L. Violet (Hodgkin) Holdsworth under the title of "Fierce Feathers," and by J. Doyle Penrose in his painting "None shall make them afraid." Rufus Hall was a son-in-law of Zebulon Hoxsie and brother-in-law of another of the name. Referring to the disturbance caused by the nearness of both the British and the Colonial armies, he writes:

"But the skulking Indians seemed to strike the greatest dread. One day, the Indians came to our meeting, just as it was breaking up, but they offered no violence. Their warlike appearance was very shocking, being equipped with their guns, tomahawks and scalping knives. They had a prisoner, and one green scalp taken from a person they had killed but a few hours before, but they went away without doing any violence." Date given is Summer 1777 (p. 17).

Robert Nesbitt is also mentioned—the Friend who walked the long distance to attend the meeting.

Esther Griffin White, of Richmond, Indiana, has sent over two of her books. One is entitled *Indiana Bookplates*, a beautiful book from the Nicholson Press of Richmond in 1910, containing many specimens of bookplates, the work of Indiana artists. There is a chapter on John E. Bundy, a Friend, of Richmond, "one of our best-known American landscapists," and for eight years on the teaching staff of Earlham College. Another chapter is devoted to the author's brother, Raymond Perry White (Ray White) (d. 1908)—a wonderful example of the pursuit of work under great physical difficulty—"with a constantly tortured body, he performed prodigies of labor which called for unremitting attention and closest scrutiny, engraving for uninterrupted hours, on his knees before his window-seat, a sitting posture being impossible to him, and walking always with the support of crutches." The work of Olive Rush, a Friend, of Germantown, is also illustrated. "She is one of the best-known among the younger artists of the United States." Miss Rush studied art with J. E. Bundy at Earlham. The book was presented to D by Hannah D. Francisco, of Pittsburgh, Pa.

The other book bears the title *In the Orchestra* (Nicholson Press, Richmond, Ind. 1915). It consists of verses published in the "Richmond Palladium," for which the writer was then music editor. Each piece is associated with a specified musical instrument.

Temper; or Domestic Scenes, a Tale, by Mrs. Opie, 1st ed., London, 1812, 3 vols., presented by H. Stuart Thompson, of Bristol.

Journal of Richard Jordan (1756-1826), a rare Phila. ed., 1829, presented by Mary Hannah Foster, of Scarborough.

In a parcel of manuscripts, etc., presented by Charles J. Dymond, of Newcastle, handed down to him from the Grace family, of Bristol, is an interesting twelve-page quarto pamphlet "Printed in the Year 1687," entitled: *A Letter from Doctor More, with Passages out of several Letters from Persons of good Credit, Relating to the State and Improvement of the Province of Pennsylvania.* Published to prevent false Reports. This tract was printed, with introduction by Albert Cook Myers, in "Narratives of Early Pennsylvania," etc., 1912. It also appears in Penna. Mag., vol. iv. Of Dr. Nicholas More (-1687) A. C. Myers wrote:

"Dr. More was a personage. He was not only the first speaker of the provincial assembly, held at Chester in December, 1682, but he has even the greater distinction of being the first (1684-1685) of the long and illustrious line of chief justices of Pennsylvania. . . . He was a non-Quaker, out of sympathy with members of that sect."

William Penn wrote the following Preface:

"Divers false Reports going about Town and Country, to the Injury of the Province of PENNSILVANIA, I was prevailed with by some concerned in that Province, and others that desire the truth of things, to Publish such of the last Letters as made mention of the State of the Country; to serve for answer to the Idle and Unjust Stories that the Malice of some invent, and the Credulity of others prepare them to receive against it; which is all the part I take in this present Publication.

"WILLIAM PENN."

Dr. More's letter to his "Honored Governour" occupies four pages. This is followed by letters from the "Governors Steward," who was James Harrison (*c.* 1628-1687); from the "Governors Gardiner," whose given-name (James) only is known; from "Robert Turner, a Merchant in Philadelphia, and one of the Councel" (1635-1700); from "David Lloyd, Clerk of the Peace of the County of Philadelphia" (1656-1731); from "Thomas Holmes, Surveyor General" (1624-1695); and from "James Claypole, Merchant in Philadelphia and one of the Councel" (1634-1687). The letters are full of reports of the productiveness of the Province and the prices of various products. Building operations are also described. Dr. More adds: "We are wanting of some more good Neighbours to fill up the Country."

Concerning the Supplements

IN our twelfth volume (1915) we announced that "Supplement No. 13" would consist of extracts from the A.R.B. Manuscripts, and we invited purchasers at the subscription price of half-a-crown. Favourable replies were received and the money sent was allocated to this purpose. The cost of printing and scarcity of paper prevented the carrying out of our plan. *We shall be glad if subscribers to this proposed Supplement will be willing to allow the money sent to be placed to the general account for the printing of the Journal itself.* The finances of the Society are in considerable need of help.

The presidential address, delivered last May, by Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, on the history of Friends in the Island of Tortola, will appear as a separate publication early next year.

"The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall"

THIS work which has been referred to as in preparation in volumes x., xi., xii., xv., xvii., has now been published by the Cambridge University Press in a book of over 600 pages; we propose to adopt the same method, carried out since 1912 in connection with the Cambridge edition of *The Journal of George Fox*, and insert, from time to time, additions and corrections which have reached the editor.

1—Page 161, line 7 from foot, cross out the [2] as there is not any note at the end of the volume corresponding with this figure.

2—Page 555, line 8 from foot, for *Fishlake* read *Fishwick*.

3—Page 589, column 2, the following further references to Fox, George, may be noted, 227, 249, 261, 273, 287, 291[3], 295[2], 297, 303, 307, 315, 331[2], 333, 335, 347[2], 349[2], 361, 373, 375[2], 397, 411[2], 459.

4—Page 528, John Kirkby, of Coniston. In the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, N.S. XX., 1920, p. 177, there are references to papers preserved at Hill Top, Crosthwaite. "The papers have principal reference to John Kirkby who lived at Coniston Hall, his sister Alice being the wife of William Fleming, of Coniston. He appears in these letters in an amiable light as earning the gratitude of his kinsfolk for his attention to their affairs."

No. 1. A letter to J. K. from Col. Richard Kirkby, dated London, 12 Jan., 1663-4, containing a list of "Quakers committed last Sessions"

George Fox
Thomas Davenport
James B———
} Cheshire men.
Thomas Charley A Warton man.
Jo. Stubbs, Schoolmaster at———
William Wilson of Stange End.

No. 2. A letter to J.K. from Thomas Clayton, dated Lancaster, 7 May, 1668, states: "The 2 Quakers George Rowson and Rich. Walker that were imprisoned att Lancaster and sett at liberty by the Judges late order Have denyed absolutely to pay any tythes these 10 yeares."

No. 18. A Bond by Matthew Richardson of Rownhead, Lancs., esquire (543), George Hilton of Milnewood, Lancs., gent. (547), to John Kirkby (Armorial seals of Richardson and Hilton), 30 July, 1670.

In other items appear the names of Daniel Fleming, Myles Dodding (525), Sir John Otway (575) and others referred to in the Account Book.

5—Page 564. An account of the persecuting zeal of members of the Preston family of Holker Hall and The Manor appears in volume xx. N.S. of the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland A. & A. Soc.*, 1920, pp. 246-251.

6—Page 85. The amount carried out on the top line should be 000 00 08¾ as pointed out in a notice appearing in the *English Historical Review*, for October, 1921. A blot in the shillings column was read as a figure eight.

7—Page 519. Omit reference to Glossary; it was decided, after this sheet was printed, to omit this.

8—There is an article on "The Fair at Ravenglass" in the 1921 volume of the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland A. & A. Soc.*, pp. 237-252.

9—In the *Transactions*, p. 94, there are notices of various members of the Cowper (Cooper) family of Aldingham, including "Edward Cooper of the Flanne," whose dates are given as 1625-1687.

"Mat. Moorhouse of Kirkburton parish sth he hath been oft with Mr. Brigs their vicar, rid with him, but he speakes not a word of god, or religion, and in his preaching he speakes so low that few in the church understand him. These things incline M. M. wife to the quakers bec. she sth they have some power, she is a notable understanding woman, hath learnt much scripture without book, hath good affection, but alas, they want powerfull preaching, my heart bleeds for them—alas, alas."

Oliver Heywood, *Diaries*, ii. 255 (under date Jan. 8, 7⅝).

J. J. Green Collection in D

THIRD LIST OF BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

A FOLIO volume of 88 leaves, vellum bound, entitled *Oustwick &c. Quaker Registers, Pedigrees, &c.*, compiled by J. J. Green from a MS. copy in the possession (1892) of Mrs. Foster, of Hillstone Hall, Oustwick, E. Yorks., in the handwriting of her father, Joseph Stickney. The marriages cover the period 1660 to *c.* 1773, followed by births and burials for about the same years.

Then follow Extracts from a MS. belonging (1897) to James Thorp, of Hull, of marriages, *c.* 1662 to *c.* 1820.

One page is occupied with a poem: "William Cowlan to Joseph Smith, on his marriage with Eliz. Mair, 12 x. 1728," reminding us of that later poem by the same, given in volume xvi., page 128.

Next come extracts from Minutes of Oustwick Preparative Meeting, 1706-1768, including a minute of Yorkshire Women's Q.M., 1716, on dress: "that young women dress their heads in a more decent and modest form, that is not to set their head dress so farr back that their ears are part bare, their hair cutt and powdred fraying out upon their brows, also the skrieds of the cozoes so thinne that there ears may be plainly seen through them."

Then, minutes of Bridlington Monthly Meeting, at Skipsea in 1718, Robert Turner, Junr., was granted a removal certificate to Pennsylvania and Rebecca Turner was liberated to accompany Lydia Lancaster to America on religious service.

The names of Friends, mostly of East Yorkshire, include:

Acklam.	Fairbairn.	Stickney.
Benington.	Foster.	Storr.
Bowen.	Hopkins.	Thorp.
Burtt.	Kitching.	Towse.
Collinson.	Maire.	Turner.
Dearman.	Nicholson.	Webster.
Ellythorpe.	Pinder.	Wintringham.
Empson.	Saunderson.	Womersley.

A series of letters written by Priscilla Green (1802-1877), of Saffron-Walden, from the United States to her relatives in England, dating from 8 ix. 1856 to 16 x. 1858. P. Green was accompanied on her religious visit by Mary Nicholson, of Whitehaven. The nearly three-hundred pages of these letters have been carefully read in **D** and many references to persons and places gathered into an index. Several Yearly Meetings were attended and mention is specially made of Philadelphia Y.M. of 1857

and 1858, New England Y.M. of the same years, and Indiana Y.M. of 1857 and New York Y.M. of 1858, with the remarks of the visitors on their condition. There are notes of interviews with many Friends and others, including Rebecca and Rachel Grellet, Eli and Sybil Jones, the Murray family of New York, John G. Whittier—" we staid there an hour or more, having tea and brown bread and butter for dinner. The Poet, his mother and sister, all rather feeble. He said when we first called he would like us to stay with them, but for his mother and sister being poorly and their helper away. He seems of a retiring cast but his conversation was interesting " (8 mo. 1857);—Dr. R. H. Thomas, the family of Henry Hull, of Stanford, N.Y., Marmaduke C. Cope, J. M. Whitall, and U.S. President, James Buchanan—" a fine-looking man with perfectly white hair."

Priscilla Green had many meetings with " those called Hicksites," at her request and theirs. She also mentions Anti-Slavery Friends, Wilburites, and Progressive Friends. At London Grove, Pa, "one goodly-looking Mother expressed her wish to have us at her house, 8 miles distant, saying her name was Pennington (descendants of I.P.s [Isaac Penington]), and that she had ten sons all at home."

Much interest was felt in visits to the homes of Ministers who had visited Europe—Thomas Arnott, Asenath Clark, Elizabeth Coggeshall, Hannah Field, Stephen Grellet, Susan Howland, Henry Hull, E. and S. Jones, Dr. Thomas, Anna M. Thorne. Daniel Williams.

1662. ffor charges in carrieing 28 quakers before S^r^ will^m^ Ingleby : ffor souldiers charges that carried them — o 2 6

ffor my charges in carrieing Sixe quakers to Yorke Castle 21^th^ Sept two daies travell — o 3 0

1665. ffor my charges in going before the Justices to Knaresbrough With the quakers — o o 8

Pannal Parish Accounts, printed in Kaye's *Records of Harrogate*, 1922, p. 111.

Now, you young men and women who can ride to meeting, galloping on your fine fat horses, or riding in your shining gaudy carriages of various sorts, how different is your outward situation from those dear, devoted children of the Lord who had to travel on foot ten miles to meeting through the woods !

John Hunt, of Moorstown, N.J. viii. 1824, from Comly, *Misc.* vol. 3, p. 148.

Friends Historical Society.

President:

EDWARD GRUBB, M.A.

Committee:

AUGUSTUS DIAMOND, B.A.
ROBERT HENRY MARSH, F.C.A.
R. HINGSTON FOX, M.D.
JULIET E. RECKITT.
C. ERNEST NAISH.
ERNEST E. TAYLOR.
A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW, B.A., LL.B.
MARGARET SEFTON-JONES, F.R.Hist.S.
ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON.

Editor:

NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A.

Auditor:

AUGUSTUS DIAMOND, B.A.

Passed for press 18th December, 1922.

Income and Expenditure Account for Year ending 31. xii. 1921.

INCOME.	£	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions	91	15	1
Sundry Sales	2	10	2
Advertisements	8	15	0
Contribution from Library Committee towards cost of printing "Hist. of Friends' Reference Library" and 100 copies of reprint	10	0	0
Interest on deposit account	1	7	0
Balance of expenditure over income ...	5	19	9
	£120	7	0

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Cost of printing Journal, vol. xviii. ...	101	19	4
Postage for the same	7	0	0
Reprint of "Hist. of Friends' Reference Library"	6	16	0
Stationery	4	6	6
Insurance	0	5	2
	£120	7	0

17th May, 1922.

Examined and found correct, AUGUSTUS DIAMOND.

Vol. XIX. No. 4 1922

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editor: Norman Penney, F.S.A.
Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2

For Table of Contents see page two of cover

Our Quotation—11

"To example well, and show to the world by our honest and peaceable lives that we are the followers of Christ, will be more convincing than many arguments."

William Blakey (c. 1738-1822), of Middletown, Bucks Co., Pa.

Leading the Way

BEING a Series of brief Sketches of Quaker Inventions and Discoveries, and of Friends who have led the Way in various directions.[1]

Continued from page 57

XXXIX

Joseph Jackson Lister, F.R.S. (1786-1869), "discovered principle of construction of modern microscope, 1830; the first to ascertain the true form of the red corpuscle of mammalian blood, 1834." (*D.N.B.*)

Lord Lister, 1917, pp. 11, 12.

[1] The Editor would be glad to receive information regarding other inventions, discoveries, etc., or regarding other claimants to any of the inventions or positions introduced. The length of the Sketch bears no proportion to the importance of the subject.

XL

Charles Francis Jenkins, of Washington, D.C., son of Amasa Jenkins, of Richmond, Ind., is the inventor of a "high-speed moving picture machine, able to slow down the subject one hundred times, even showing projection from a high-power gun. He has perfected a device for transmitting motion pictures by radio." (*American Friend*, 1922, pp. 341, 440.) C. F. Jenkins is a member of West Richmond Meeting, Ind.

XLI

George Bradshaw (1801-1853). "It has often been said that Bradshaw was the originator of Time Tables, but by the term 'originator of Time Tables' must obviously be understood the originator of collecting the time tables of various companies and publishing them together in a portable form." (E. H. Dring, on "Early Railway Time Tables" in *The Library*, 4th ser. vol. ii. no. 3, Dec. 1921.)

XLII

Roger Treffry (*c.* 1746-1818) discovered "both the Cause and the Remedy for Smut-balls amongst wheat and Smut of both kinds amongst Barley and Oats." (*Jnl.* xix. 37.)

XLIII

E. Lloyd Pease. "In December, 1888, E. Ll. Pease patented an arrangement whereby wire rope takes the place of rigid framing in gas-holder construction." (*Gas Engineers' Mag.*, July, 1890.)

XLIV

William Curtis (1746-1799), founder, in 1787, of "The Botanical Magazine," was "the first botanist of note in this country who applied botany to the purposes of agriculture." We are indebted to him for that useful vegetable, sea-kale. (*Miscellanea Genealogica*, 5th series, vol. iv. p. 149.)

XLV

James Varley (-) "was a member of a good Yorkshire family of Quaker descent, a man of mark as a traveller, a linguist, a scientific chemist and the discoverer of chloride of lime for bleaching. He also discovered in England the fine clay for biscuit china, previously obtained

from Germany." (*North Country Poets*, edited by William Andrews, Hull, 1888, in an article on Mrs. George Linnæus Banks (1821-1897), a grand-daughter of James Varley, prefaced to a selection of her poems.[2])

XLVI

James Beale (*c.* 1798-1879) was the immediate cause of sending across the Atlantic the first vessel to steam the whole distance, 1838. The vessel was the *Sirius*. Several Friends were part owners of the vessel. When she was under repair at Hull part of the work was done by George Worsdell (xxxvii.).

Jnl. xvii. 108.

XLVII

Philip Syng Physick, M.D. (1768-1837), has been styled "The Father of American Surgery." He was a non-Friend, but of Quaker descent ; he, however, received his early education under Friend Robert Proud, whilst lodging at the house of Quaker Todd, and he married, in 1800, the daughter of Samuel Emlen.

Memoir, by J. Randolph, M.D., 1839 ; etc.

XLVIII

Daniel Quare (1648-1724) "invented repeating watches ; made a fine clock for William III, which only required winding once a year ; and improved the construction of barometers." (*D.N.B.*)

Jnl. xiv. 44 ; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1900.

XLIX

George Graham (1673-1751), watchmaker, "was responsible for the 'dead-beat' escapement, invented as an improvement upon Clement's anchor escapement, but perhaps his greatest invention was the mercurial pendulum in which he compensated for the expansion of the steel by the expansion of the mercury in a jar connected with it, and so preserved constant the vibrating length of the pendulum." (Williamson, on "Old Quaker Watchmakers" in *Behind My Library Door*, 1921.)

[2] In the same volume there is a memoir of G. L. Banks which states that his father, John Banks, had an elder brother, William, "who was placed at Ackworth School by Sir Joseph Banks, to whom the brothers were collaterally related." There is, however, no Banks in the list of Ackworth scholars.

L

Benjamin Huntsman (1704-1776), of Doncaster, and later of Attercliffe, Sheffield, was the inventor of cast steel.

Sheffield, 1919, chap. vii.; *D.N.B.*; *Jnl.* xvii. 118; Smiles's *Industrial Biography*.

LI

Henry Taylor (1737-1823), of North Shields, was called "the Sailors' Friend" because he set in train the circumstances which led to the fixing of the lights in Hasbro' Gatt, and the Lights at the Goodwin, and proposed a Light near the Sunk Sands. He also wrote pamphlets with instructions to young sailors, etc. (in **D**). He joined Friends in 1778. Taylor's youngest son, Joseph, was grandfather of Mrs. George Cadbury, *née* Taylor.

Letters of Mary Jane Taylor, 1914, pp. 10ff; *Memoirs of Henry Taylor*, 1811, 1821; pamphlets, etc., as above; newscuttings in **D**.

LII

Morrall Family. In the *History and Description of Needle Making*, by Michael T. Morrall, F.S.A. (*c.* 1818-1891), of Newcastle and later of Matlock, fifth edition, 1866, we are informed that "this useful branch of manufacture has been the staple trade of Studley, Warwickshire, my native village, from time immemorial, and my family are engaged in the business and have been for at least six generations; and have introduced most of the improvements that have been effected in the modern needle." About 1785, Michael Morrall removed from Alcester to Washford Mill, Studley. The firm of Morrall, Archer and Morrall made many improvements in the art of needle making, and others of the family added to them.

LIII

Thomas Edmondson (1792-1851), of Manchester, was the inventor of printed railway tickets. The idea came suddenly to him in completed form at the age of forty-six, and the profits which accrued were used to pay off all the creditors of a previous bankruptcy.

D.N.B.; *Jnl.* xvi. 110.

LIV

James Holden (of Wanstead, Essex) was the first to build locomotives that could run by either oil or coal, being

the inventor of the "Holden injector" by means of which trains could be run with liquid fuel.

Jnl. xviii. 113.

LV.

CYRUS CHAMBERS, Jr., of Philadelphia, invented various sorts of book-folding machines; the first successful machine was one that folded Comly's "Spelling Book," a sheet of 32 pages, and the last and greatest invention was a machine made expressly to fold the "Ladies' Home Journal." He also produced a machine to make bricks.

Autobiographic account in *Friends' Intelligencer* (Phila.), 1910, p. 50.

LVI

WILLIAM DYNE (*c.* 1817-1896). There are, preserved in **D**, some printed and illustrated notices of inventions by William Dyne.

On show at the Great Exhibition of 1851 were six objects, "the invention of Mr. William Dyne, an *employé* of the London and South Coast Railway at their London Station. Mr. Dyne is, we understand, the first person in the kingdom who applied gutta percha in the construction of life boats, rafts, etc., he having taken out a patent for that purpose in 1847" (*Sussex Advertiser*, March 18, 1851). The paper then proceeds to give a description of the Eclipse, or Standard Life Boat,[3] a Gutta Percha Life Buoy, an Emigration Life Raft, a Life Launch, the Gutta Percha Emigration Life Boat, and a Gutta Percha Life Vest.

"William Dyne also patented a Pathway Cleanser [of which there is a diagram in **D**], intended to be a ready way of cleansing the public streets opposite shops and private houses, but the Water Company charged an impossible rate for the water used and prevented its sale" (letter from Thomas R. Dyne, 1921).

Thomas R. Dyne writes:

"My father's Patent Collapsible Life Boat invention was afterwards taken up by Rev. Berthon, who formed a company, and the Collapsible Life Boat is now in general use. It is now manufactured by the Berthon Boat Company, Lymington, Hants."

[3] This is probably the boat described as "Messrs. Dyne & Vickery's Improved Life Boat," of which there is a lithograph in **D**.

LVII

Amos Cruickshank[4] (*c.* 1808-1895), of Sittyton, Aberdeen, had a leading part in developing the breed of Shorthorn cattle and was the "owner of the largest herd of shorthorns in the world." (*A Walk from London to John O'Groats*, by Elihu Burritt, 1864, p. 342.) "A.C. was more than an ordinary breeder, as to-day one rarely sees a sale catalogue of shorthorns without Cruickshank blood being mentioned" (letter from George Burtt, of Redgrave, Diss, Norfolk, 1922).

History of Shorthorns, 1907, with portrait; *Live Stock Journal*, 1915.

LVIII

Samuel Hill, of Seattle, Wash., originated the idea of the great concrete road linking Canada and the United States. He is President of the Pacific Highway Association. There is a picture of S. Hill in *The American Friend*, 1908, 651.

The Friend (Lond.), 1922, p. 257.

LIX

Elihu Embree (-) "was a Quaker, and has the honour of having started the first newspaper devoted exclusively to the destruction of slavery. This was the 'Emancipator,' which was begun in 1819, and which came to an untimely end because its founder and editor died." (R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, 1921, p. 562.)

LX

Thomas Tompion (1638-1713) was "one of the greatest of the English watchmakers, and has, in fact, been called the father of English watchmaking." (Williamson, on "Old Quaker Watchmakers," in *Behind My Library Door*, 1921.)

D.N.B.; Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches*, 1911.

LXI

Joseph Malcomson (*c.* 1798-1858) was said to be the first person to bring a steam vessel to Petrograd.

Jnl. xvii. 109.

[4] For *Anthony*, probably read *Amos* (*Jnl.* xix. 48), the latter had a brother Anthony.

LXII

James Marriage (1796-1863) was the principal founder of the Ultine (Essex) factory for the production of sugar from beetroot, the first in England. James Marriage's elder brother, Robert, was a partner in the sugar venture.

Friends' Quarterly Magazine and Review, 1832, p. 275; *International Sugar Journal*, 1914, pp. 510-515.

LXIII

Priestman Brothers, Holderness Foundry, Hull, were the inventors of the petroleum engine, 1888. W. Dent Priestman writes: "From the point of view of inventions, I look upon our firm's connection with the use of petroleum oils as a means of power in internal combustion engines, as much the most interesting. The late Lord Kelvin (then Sir William Thomson), whom we asked to report on our engines, said he could not leave home to see inventions in general, but that if we could show him an engine driven by ordinary petroleum oil he would go to see that."

The invention is dealt with in a lecture by William Cawthorne Unwin, F.R.S., before the Society of Civil Engineers in 1892 (pamphlet in **D**).

Prior to the introduction of the Oil Engine, this firm took out patents in connection with the operation of Grabs. The firm is now largely engaged in the manufacture of these appliances for dredging, excavating, and lifting coal, etc., etc., and they are in use in many parts of the world. A book of illustrations of Grabs and Grab Dredgers, etc., at work is in **D**.

NOTE

No. III. Abraham Darby—"the first iron bridge ever constructed—1779." John L. Nickalls draws attention to the following, extracted from Elizabeth Kendall's *Wayfarer in China*, 1913:

"The one connecting link between China and Tibet is the bridge of the suspension sort built in 1701, three-hundred and eleven feet long. On the nine cables of charcoal-smelted iron that compose it are laid loose planks to serve as a footway, while the only guard is a shaky chain on either hand."

To be continued

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D—Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Camb. *Jnl.*—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

D.N.B.—*The Dictionary of National Biography.*

FORSTER MANUSCRIPTS.—Reference was made in our last issue, page 59, to valuable manuscripts lately added to **D**. Further information may now be given, through the kindness of Mrs. Vere O'Brien, of Ennis, Co. Clare (*née* Arnold-Forster), adopted daughter of the Right Hon. William Edward Forster (1818-1886). The manuscripts, consisting of the Haistwell Diary, several sheets in the handwriting of George Fox, etc. were discovered by Mrs. O'Brien and her niece, Ivis Arnold-Forster, in "a little brass-nailed coffer put away in an attic at Wharfeside," the residence at Burley of W. E. Forster. It is not likely that the active life lived by the noted politician and philanthropist permitted him to look into the great quantity of papers which came to him from his father, the Quaker Minister, William Forster (1784-1854), but these are now being examined by Mrs. O'Brien and will no doubt yield matters of considerable interest.

The history of the MSS. cannot be traced further back than when in possession of the Forster family of Tottenham (of which William Forster was a member) a hundred years ago, but this well-known family was associated with Friends from the early days and may well have come into possession of these papers not long after they were written.

JOHN SOUTHAM, M.D. (xviii. 19, 110).—By the kindness of Wallis Cash, of Wincanton, we have seen a copy of the diploma mentioned xviii. 111, a translation into English made by Ernest Blackie (great-great-grandson), Archdeacon of Lincoln, 1921.

". . . AND SINCE it has been sufficiently understood by us that JOHN SOUTHAM has applied himself to medical studies for many years with great credit to himself and has made great progress in the same

"AS A GUARANTEE and testimony of which things we wish the instrument of the Doctorate in their diploma to be strengthened by the affixing of the great seal of the University and of our signatures. . . .

"GIVEN AT ABERDEEN on the 30th day of December in the year of our Lord 1818."

Signed by directors of studies, doctors, masters and professors of the University.

ILLEGAL BURIALS. — In Dr. Nightingale's recent book, *Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in*

Lancashire, we find several presentments in connection with private burials and burial grounds.

"Burnley Cap. John Smith, of Hill, quaker, for suffering dead corps to be buryed in his land."

"Rossendale. Richard Radcliffe for hedging in a parcell of land to bury dead corps in and diverse have been interrd there."

"Colne. Richard Mitchell for burying his child in a field."

What Act made these burials illegal ?

Work and Play on Sunday.—In above work we also find the following presentations, but we are not to suppose that these actions had any close connection with the early Quaker Movement !

"Rossendale. Against Christofer Bridge and Robt. Winterbotham for playing at football in time of divine service. 23 Aug., 1672, before Mr. Clayton, Surrogate, the parties appeared per Mr. Kippar, Minister there and were absolved and dismissed with a caution. 4s."

"Blackburn, 1671, June 16. Against John Forrest, John Farnworth and Ellis Edge for prophaneinge the Saboth by playing at Pennyprick as is reported [ultimately dismissed]."

"Wigan. Against Margt. Cowley for delving in a garden upon the Saboth day."

Margaret Fox.—Those who have been accustomed to write and speak of the wife and widow of George Fox as Margaret *Fell*, will be more disposed to give her her rightful name, when they know that she strongly protested against being styled Margaret *Fell*. "Why may I not have y^e^ Liberty of my Marriage as well as all our ffriends in England beside ; & y^t^ I must be made a widow y^t^ they may abuse me in my credit & reputation & also be ruined in my Estate ?" she wrote to the Justices at the Sessions at Lancaster, in January, 1683/4. She had been fined twenty pounds as "Mrs. Margt. Fell, wid."—as a "feme sole," whereas the law laid it down that a married woman—a "feme covert," was not to be fined more than ten shillings.

See Nightingale, *Early Quaker Movement in Lancashire*, 1921, p. 156.

Conventicle Act, 1664 (xvii. 100).—The Conventicle Act ordained "that if any Person above the age of sixteen, after the first of July, 1664, shall be present at any meeting under Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Religion, in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church of England, *where shall be five or more Persons than the Household*, shall" etc.

Upon this Dr. Nightingale writes in his book, *Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire*, 1921, p. 130n.:

"Whilst the law would seem to be perfectly clear that it was an infringement of the Act when *five* persons other than members of the household were present at a Conventicle, the popular idea appears to have been that *more than five* were needed to constitute a breach of the law. In all cases [given in his book] it will be noted that those who gave evidence against the offenders said that *more than five* were present."

PUBLIC FRIENDS IN BUSINESS (xviii. 26, 110).—We did not gather the true inwardness of the letter given under this heading in the last volume, but there cannot be any doubt as to occupations attached to the "Public Friends Visiting Dorking Meeting, Surrey, 1709-1726"—given in a manuscript presented to **D** by Maude Robinson and introduced to the readers of the *F.Q.E.* in 1920. The trades and professions are as follow:

baker
bookseller
cheesemonger
clothworker
corker
corn chandler
doctor
farmer
fisherman
Governess of the Workhouse in London
grocer
hop-factor
husbandman
leathercutter
leatherdresser
linendraper
maltster
mercer
merchant
miller
miner
oatmealman
oilyleather dresser
pewterer
poulterer
printer
salesman
sawyer
scholar
servant at Theodor Eccleston's
shoemaker
shopkeeper
smith
stuffmercer
stuffweaver
suitmaker
surgeon
tailor
tallowchandler
thatcher
tobaccocutter
tobacconist
watchmaker
wharfinger
woolcomber

DAVIS-BUMFUS SEPARATION.—Information wanted respecting the Separation in New England, *c.* 1800, headed by Timothy Davis and Benjamin Bumfus. See *The Journal of John Comly*, page 260.

JOHN ARCHDALE MSS.—In the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., there is a collection of sixty-five original manuscripts, relating to John Archdale (1664-1707) and his governorship in Carolina. A list of these papers appears in the *Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress*, 1918 (copy in **D**), p. 26, which book also indicates the possession by this Library of other Quaker manuscripts.

BREWERS YARD (iv. 37).—Under date August 25th, 1682, the Kenyon MSS. give the following:

"Kirkham. There is a place in this parish wee call Brewers Yard, four or five miles distant, which the Quakers (the most incorrigible sinners I know) doe use to bury. I desire you, therefore, you may procure this may be spoken of a Sheriff's title, that these places may be laid wast, or if not soe, some other remedy may be thought of for the preventing of their diabolical infatuation and infection."

The writer was Richard Clegg, M.A., who held the living of Kirkham from 1666 to his demise in 1720.

See Nightingale, *Early Quaker Movement in Lancashire*, 1921.

TONES IN PREACHING (xv. 125).—In the *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, 1886, ii. 304, we read:

"1857. August, 17. Went to hear a Quakeress from England, Priscilla Green, speak in the church. She spoke with a sweet voice and very clear enunciation; very deliberately and breaking now and then into a rhythmic chant, in which the voice seemed floating up and down on wings.

I was much interested and could have listened an hour longer. It was a great pleasure to me to hear such a musical voice."

[It has been said that in *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, upon which Longfellow was engaged in 1858, "Priscilla, the Puritan Maiden" was so named after Priscilla Green.]

Tones of another kind are referred to in "A Letter, written to a Friend by a Member of the Society of Friends, which is respectfully submitted to the Consideration of the Ministers and Elders of that Society among whom alone it is now circulated." The writer, who signs

"* * * * * * * * * * * *"

refers to "the very unpleasant manner of delivery in preaching . . . an evil of no small magnitude." As an example he gives a specimen, heard by himself, a quotation of Col. ii. 8—"Beware, aa!—lest any man, aa! spoil you through, aa! philosophy and vain deceit, aa!" etc.[1] . . . "Some of our women preachers give us such a great variation in tone and such a modulation of the voice, as, though not strictly musical, amounts to direct singing or chanting."

GEORGE FOX AND HEBREW (vi.; xv.; xix.)—In his reply to Bishop Lancelot Andrews (see pp. 24-33 of *The Examination and Tryall of Margaret Fell and George Fox . . . at Lancaster*, 1664), on the subject of swearing, George Fox attempts the translation into Hebrew, of Matt. v. 24, and James v., adding: "The Pricks, Points, and Accents, and the plain and naked interpretation of the Hebrew words we have left for them it most concerns to adde."

A criticism of Fox's Hebrew in this place, by Alfred Kemp Brown, 1919, in reply to a letter from A. N. Brayshaw, is among MSS. in **D**.

SANDERSON OF LONDON.—A bundle of letters written by daughters of John Sanderson, of Old Jewry, has been received from Margaret W. Fox, of Wellington, Somerset, with permission to destroy any not considered worth keeping. John Sanderson married three times—by his first wife, Mary Frinston, he had *Margaret*, m. Isaac Rigge, of Kendal, *Hannah*, m. Benjamin Thomas, of Bristol, and *John*, m. Anna Fox, of Wellington. By his second wife, Margaret Shillitoe, he had *Mary*, m. Sylvanus Fox, of Wellington, *Elizabeth*, m. Cornelius Hanbury, and *Joseph*, d.*s.p.* His third wife was Anna Trueman, of Lurgan, d.*s.p.*

The letters were written principally by Mary and Elizabeth. Mary Sanderson accompanied Elizabeth Fry to Newgate, and she refers to this in several of her letters, but Elizabeth's letters seem of greater general interest.

There is also a letter from Sylvanus Fox offering a subscription of one hundred pounds towards the purchase of a ship for Daniel Wheeler, and a letter describing S. Fox's address in the Pump Room, Bath.

[1] The printed copy of this letter has been recently presented to **D**, by Margaret W. Fox, of Wellington, Som. It was sent by Hannah Alexander, of Ipswich, to Sylvanus Fox, of Wellington, in 1814. Who was the writer?

Index

Abbot, Sarah, 105.
Acklam of Yorks, 126.
Ackworth School, 131.
Airey, Thomas, 67.
Albright, Arthur, 52.
Aldam, Thomas, 67, 109.
Allen, Nathaniel, 42.
Allen, Samuel Leeds, 42, 48.
Allen, William, 21, 28, **33**.
Allerthorpe, 68.
Alsop, Othniel, 4.
America, Settlement of, 115.
Anabaptists, 63.
Anderson, of Phila., 93.
Anti-Slavery Friends, 127.
Archdale MSS., 138.
Arctic, 118.
Ardesley, 68.
Arnott, Thomas, 127.
Arthington family, 102.
Atkinson, Christopher, 67, 78.
Atkinson, Wilmer, 42.
Audland, Ann, 67.
Audland, John, 67, 78, 80.

Backhouse family, 44, 121.
Backhouse's Bank, 104.
Bagdad, 25-31.
Baines, James, 74.
Baker, W. K., *Loyalists*, 42.
Balby, 68.
Baltimore and Ohio R.R., 11, 55.
Baltimore Y.M., 11.
Banbury, History of, 120.
Banks, John, 67, 77, 78, 80.
Baptists, 63, 64.
Barclay, Col. David, 61.
Barclay, R., *Apology*, 17.
Barker, Joseph, **43**.
Barnardiston, Giles, 61.
Barnes, Samuel, **26**.
Bartlett, William E., 7, 8.
Bateman, Miles, 67.
Bates, Elisha, 10.
Batkin, William, 17-21.
Bawden, Sarah, *aft.* Treffry, 38.
Bax family, 46.
Baycliff, 68.
Beacon Controversy, 40.
Beale, Benjamin, 51.
Beale, James, 131.
beard, **98**.
Bedford, Peter, 20, 21, 48.
Benezet, Anthony, 98, 100.
Benington family, 121, 126.
Bennis, Edward, 55.
Benson, Dorothy, 67.
Benson, Gervase, 67, 77.
Benwell, John, 41.
Bettle, Samuel (1828), 4, 5, 9, 11.
Bevan family, 26.
Bevan, Joseph Gurney, **27**, 65.
Bewley family, 112.
Bewley, George, 67, 75.
"Biographical Dictionary" proposed, 39.
Berkbeck, Eleanor, *aft.* Draper, 104.
Birkbeck, Grizell, *form.* Hoare, *aft.* Allen, 33-36.
Birkett, Miles, 67, 78.
Birkfield, 67.
Bishop, Benjamin, 17-20, 48.
Blakey, William, 98, 107, 129.
Blaykling, Ann, 67.
Blaykling, John, 67, 74, 75.
Blaykling, Thomas, 74, 75.
blind Friends, 17, 48.
Bolton Forest, 68.
bonnet-makers, 64.
Bonsall, Isaac, 4.
Bootham School, 116.
botany, 120, 130.
Bourne, Dr. Edward, 61.
Bowen family, 121, 126.
Bowron, Anne, *form.* Stephenson, 121.
Bowron, John, 121.
Bradshaw family, 34, **35**.
Bradshaw's Railway Guide, **46**, 113, 130.
Brady, Rachel, *aft.* Robson, 105.
Bragg, Hadwen, 107.
Bragg, Margaret, *form.* Wilson, 105, **107**.
Braithwaite, Anna, **2**, 7, 9.
Braithwaite, Isaac, **2**, 5, 7, 9, 11.
Braithwaite, James, 111.
Braithwaite, John, 67.
Braithwaite, William C., **87**.
Brantingham, Hugh, 107.
Brantingham, Mary, 105, **106**.
Brayshaw family, 121.
Brewers' Yard, 138.
Brewin brothers, 65.
Brigflatts, 74.
Briggs, Isaac, 55.
Briggs, Samuel, 55.
Briggs, Thomas, 67.
Broadhead, Hannah, 105.
Brown, Ann, 6.
Brown, Joseph (Lothersdale), **119**.
Brown, Nicholas, 6.
Browne, Susanna, *aft.* Treffry, 38.
Bryant, Widow, 121.
Buchanan, President James, 127.
Bulletin Fds. Hist. Soc., Phila., Index, 114.
Bundy, John E., 122.
burials, 90, 93, 136.
Burnham, Som., 121.
Burnyeat, John, 67.
Burritt, E., *Walk from London to John O'Groats*, 48.
Burrough, Edward, 67, 78.
Burtt family, 126.

Camm, John, 68, 74, 75, 78, 80.
Camm, Mabel, 68.
Camsgill, 69, 74, 75, 77.
Canada, 41, 42.
Capper, Samuel, 31.
"Carazan, The Story of," 25ff.
Carleton family, 65.
Carlton, 68.
Carns, William, 111.
Carpenter, Samuel, 13.
Carroll, James, 65.
Caton, William, 68, 78, 79.
Cazenove, Theophile, *Journal*, 111.
Chambers, Cyrus, Jr., 133.
Champion, Richard, 109.
Chapman, Solomon, 105, **107**.
Chapman, William, 55.
Charley, see Chorley.
Cheal family, 46.
Child, L. Maria, 96.
Chorley (Charley), Thomas, 125.
Christy, Rebecca, 34.
Christy, Thomas, **21**, 34.
Cinderhill, 68.
cipher, 60.
Clark family, 121, 122.
Clark, Asenath, 127.
Claus, Jan, 59.
Claypole, James, 123.
Clayton, Richard, 68, 78.
Cleopatra's Needle, 54.
Clifton, Westmorland, **83**.
Clothier family, 121.
Coalbrookdale, 49.
Coates family, 46.
Coggeshall, Elizabeth, **2**, **127**.
coins, 106.
Collier, William, 40.
Collinson family, 126.
Conventicle Act, 137.
Conway, Lady, 61.
Cooke, Katherine, *aft.* Jackson, 102.
Cooper, Benjamin, 9, 10.
Cope, Marmaduke C., 127.
Corder, John, 35.
Corder, Susanna, **21**, 34, 35.
Cottonwood, Kansas, 100.
Coughen, John, 22-24.
Counsell family, 122.
Countersett, 68.

Cowell family, 102.
Cowper, Spencer, 113.
Cowper, William, 113.
Crabtreebeck, 67.
Crook, John, 75.
Cropper, James, 57.
Crosfield, George, 38.
Crotch, William, 114.
Cruickshank, Anthony (Amos), **48**, 134.
Cumberland, Duke of, 83, 84.
cures, remarkable, 58, 61.
Curtis, Thomas, 120.
Curtis, William, 130.

Dalton, John, 52, 112.
Dalton, John, 100.
Darby, Abraham, 49, 50, 135.
Darlington, 105, 106.
Davenport, Thomas, 125.
Davis, of Clonmel, 120.
Dawson, E——, 9.
Dawson, Joshua, 90.
Day, Stephen Monson, 100.
Dearman family, 126.
Derrix, Annekin, *aft.* Caton, 79.
Dewsbury, William, 68.
Diana, ship, **118**.
Dixon family, 46.
Dixon, George, 52.
Dixon, H. P., *Sixty Years among Indians*, 44.
Dodding, Myles, 125.
Dodgson, Joseph, 8.
Dover, Thomas, 111.
D'Oyley, Bray, 62.
Draggleback, 68.
Draper, of Headlam, **104**.
Draper, Bridget, *form.* Fell, 104.
Drawwell, 67, 74, 75.
dress, 89, 95, 97, **98**, 101, 126.
drink, 98, 99.
Driver, Samuel Rolles, 107.
Dunsford, Ann, *aft.* Treffry, 41.
Dyne, William, 17, 48, **133**.

East, Edward, **46**.
Edmondson, Thomas, 132.
education, 26, 28, 105, 106, 108.
Edwards, Edward, 76.
Elams, John, 62.
Ellwood, Thomas (Bucks), **22**, 60, 69, 80, 102.
Ellwood, Thomas (Kendal), 102.
Ellythorpe family, 126.
Ely, Ruth, 5.
Embree, Elihu, 134.
emigration, 12, 126.
Emlen, Samuel, 48, 131.
Empson family, 126.
Esthill family, 46.
Ethericke, James, 111.
Evans, Jonathan, (1828), 4, 9.
Evans, Joshua, **98**.
Evans, Thomas, 99.
Evans, William (1828), 4, 9.

Fairbairn family, 126.
faith-healing, 58, see also cures, remarkable.
Farnsworth, Richard, 68, **73**, 109.
Fell, Leonard, 61, 68.
Fell, Judge Thomas, 75.
Fenny Drayton, 68.
Fettiplace, Giles, 61.
Field, Hannah (N.Y.), 65, 105, 127.
"Fierce Feathers," 122.
"*First Publishers of Truth*," 66-81.
Flanner, William, 4.
Fleetwood, Lieut.-Col. Charles, 102.
Fleetwood, Col. George, 102.
Fleetwood, Hester, 102.
Fleming, Daniel, 125.
Foeldricke, Jhon, 59.
Forster, William, 21, 136.
Forster, William E., 58, 59, 136.
Foster, T[?omas], 36.
Fothergill, Samuel, 38f, 83.
Foulke, Joseph, 89.
Fowler, John, 54.
Fox family, 26.
Fox, Benjamin, 38.
Fox, George, 38-62, 68, 75, 79, 97, **101**, 102, 103, 120, 125, 139.
Fox., G., Camb. *Journal*, 102.
Fox, George Croker, 46.
Fox, Margaret, *form.* Askew and Fell, 74, 137.
Fretwell, John, 60.
Friends, Early, Estimates of, 125.
Frotheringham, Samuel, 53.
Fry, Albert, 54.
Fry, Sir Edward, **44**.
Fry, Elizabeth, 34, 139.
Fry, Elizabeth (spinster), 105.
Fry, John, 27.
Fry, Joseph, 109.
Fry, Joseph Storrs (d. 1835), 56.
Furly, Benjamin, 60.

Gandy, W., *Lancs. Oath Rolls*, 110.
Gardner, Ephraim, 6.
Geldart, John, 117, 118.
"gentleman," **72**, 77.
George II., 83.
George III., 12-16.
Gerces, Robert, 111.
Germany, 12, 100.
Gidley, Angeline, *aft.* Ricketson, 96.
Gillingham, James, 10.
Gleaston, 68.
Goad, John, 111.
Gold, Marcus T. C., 8-10.
Goodaire, Thomas, 68, **73**.
Gordon, Alexander, 44.
Gould family, 122.
Grace family, 121.
Graham, George, **46**, **131**.
Gray, Sir George, 20.
Grayrigg, 68, 74.
Graythwaite, 68.
Green, Joseph J., **32**, 126.
Green, Dr. L——, 9.
Green, Priscilla, 65, **126**, 138.
Grellet, Rachel, 127.
Grellet, Rebecca, 127.
Grellet, Stephen, 4, 127.
Griscom, John, 100, 119.
Gundry, Mary, *aft.* Moore, 121.
Gurney family, 26.
Gurney, Joseph, 65.

Hadwen, Alice, *aft.* Savage, 83.
Haines, Hinchman, 4.
Haistwell, Edward, 24, **59**.
Halhead, Miles, 68, 78.
Halifax, 93.
Hall, Rufus, 122.
Haltcliffe, 67.
Hamton, of Pa., 91.
Hamton, James, 91-93.
Hamton, J., *Grammar*, 100.
Hanbury family, 26, 36.
Handful of Stars, 114.
Handley, John, 67.
Harman family, 26.
Harris, Charles, 61.
Harris, Isabella, 33.
Harrison, George, 68, 75.
Harrison, James, Pa., 123.
Harrogate, 116-118.
Hartas family, 46.
Hawkes family, 121.
Hawkshead, 111.
Healy, Christopher, 4.
Hebden, Frances, *aft.* Stephenson, 121.
Hebden, Roger, 77.
Hebrew, 120, 139.
Hertford, 113.
Hewlett, M., *Wiltshire Essays*, 113.
Heywood, O., *Diaries*, 41, 58, 62, 90, 93, 125.
Hiatt, Benajah, 112.
Hicks, Elias, **2**, 7, 8, 9, 10.
Hicks, Willet, 2.
Hilbert family, 122.
Hill, Lord, 20, 21.
Hill, Samuel, 134.
Hilton, George, 125.
Hipsley, Mabel, 105.
Hoag, Lindley M., 94.
Hoare family, 26.
Hodgkin, George Lloyd, 46.
Hodgkin, John (Jun.), 17, 20, 21, 48.
Hogg, John, 117, 118.
Hogg, Margaret, *aft.* Wilkinson, 117.
Holden, James, 132.
Holder, Christopher, 75.
Holderness, 68, 120.
Holland, 50, **59**, 79, 89, 115.
Holme, John, 64.
Holmes, Elizabeth, *form.* Leavens, 79.
Holmes, Thomas, 68, 78, 79.
Holmes, Thomas (Pa.), 123.
Hook, Dr. Richard, 62.
Hooper, Dr. Joseph, 27.
Hopkins family, 121, 126.
Hopkins, Anne, 100.
Hopkins, G. T., 10.
horology, **46**, 53, 131, 134.
Howe, Lord, 89.
Howgill, Francis, 68, 74, 78.
Howgill, Mary, 68.
Howitt, Margaret, 97.
Howitt, Mary, 96.

Howitt, Richard, 96, 97.
Howitt, William, 96.
Howland, Susan, 127.
Hoxsie, Zebulon, 122.
Hoyland, Barbara, 105.
Hubbersty, Miles, 68.
Hubbersty, Stephen, 68.
Hubberthorne, Richard, 68, 73, 75, 78.
Hull, Henry (N.Y.), 127.
Hunt, John (N.J.), 98, 99, 127.
Huntsman, Benjamin, 132.
"husbandman," **76**.
Hustler, John, 52.
Hustler, Sarah, 105.
Hutchinson family, 121.
Hutchinson, Rachel, *aft.* Robson, 105.
Hutton, 68.

Ilchester, 122.
Indiana Bookplates, 122.
Indiana Y.M., 127.
Indians, 44, 99, 108, 116, **122**.
Ingleby, Sir Wm., 127.
Inskeap, Joseph, 93.
introspection, 91-93.
inventions, etc., 42, 49-57, 129-136.

Jackson, Halliday, 7, 8.
Jackson, Henry, 62, **102**.
Jackson, William, 4, 5.
Janson Frederick and Sarah (Tindall), 33, 35.
Jay, John, 103.
Jeffry family, 122.
Jenkins, Amasa, 130.
Jenkins, C. Francis (D.C.), 130.
Jenkins, C. F., *Tortola*, 124.
Jenkins, J., *Records*, **27**, 51.
Jenkins, William, 9.
Jobbins, Rachel, *aft.* Moore, 121.
Jones, Aquilla, 6.
Jones, Eli and Sybil, 127.
Jones, George and Ann, 2, 7, 108.
Jordan, Richard, 10.
Jordan, Richard, 123.
Jordans, 45.
Judge, Hugh, 7, 8, 144.

Kansas Y.M., 64, 108, **112**.
Kaye, W. J., *Harrogate*, 116-118, 127.
Keith, George, 61, 64.
Kellett, Over, 68.
Kelsey, R. W., works, 111, 114.
Kendal, 67, 68, 71, 74.
Kendall, Gyles, 58.
Kewell, Ann, 64.
Kilham, Thomas, 68.
Kingston, Duke of, 86.
Kirk, Elisha, 103.
Kirkby, of Furness, 124, 125.
Kitching family, 121, 126.
Knaresborough, 117, 127.

Lacock, Jonathan, 93.
Lamb, Michael, 6.
Lancashire, **110**.
Lancaster, 68.
Lancaster, James, 68, 78.
Lancaster, Lydia, 126.
Lawrie, Gawen, 61.
Lawson, John, 68, 78,
Lawson, Thomas, 68, 75, 78.
Leavens, Elizabeth, *aft.* Holmes, 68, 78.
Lecky, R. and J., 53.
Leeds, Daniel, 42.
Lees, John, 54.
lighthouses, 132.
Lindfield, 35.
Lister family, 102.
Lister of Tunstall, 120.
Lister, Lord, 50.
Lister, Joseph Jackson, 129.
literature, 42-48, 100, 109-127.
Lloyd, David, 123.
Loe, Thomas, 114.
London Y.M. 1922, 114.
long service, 64.
Longfellow, H. W., 138.
Lorrimer, Thomas, 77.
Lotherington, Dorothy, *form.* Waugh, 77.
Lupton, Barbara, *aft.* Jackson, 102.

Mackiver, Isabella, 33.
Madison, Dorothy, 57.
Mair family, 120, 126.
Mair, Elizabeth, *aft.* Stephenson, 121.
Malcomson, Joseph, 134.
Mansfield, 97.
marriage, **78**, 97.
Marriage family, 120.
Marriage, James, 135.
Marriage, Robert, 135.
Marsden family, 102.
Marsden, Ralph, 41.
Marsh, Richard and Ann, 17ff.
Marshall, Christopher, 52, 120.
Marsillac, John de, 107
"Mary England's Dream," 116.
Masterman family, 121.
Mather of Hobart, Tas., 119.
Maw, Thomas, 94.
Mayleigh, of London, 25.
Meade, William, 62.
Mealhill, Yks., 102.
Mifflin, Warner, 46, 50.
Mildred family, 26.
ministers' certificates refused, 99.
ministry, 65, **82**, 89, 98, 105, 106.
Moore, of Burnham, 121, 122.
Moore, Dr. Charles, 91, 93.
Moore, Henry, **121**.
Moore, Milcah M., 91.
Moore, Thomas, 53.
Moorhouse, Matthew, 125.
More, Dr. N., *Letter*, **123**.
Morrall, Michael T., 132.
Morris, Isaac W., 9.
Mosedale, 68.
Mott, James, 65.
Mott, Lydia, 2-4.
Mott, Richard, 7.
Mount Edgcombe, Lord, 65.
Mount Pleasant, O., 7, 9, 44.
Murray, of N.Y., 127.

Nailsea, 121.
Naish, Joseph (d. 1822), **31**.
Nantucket, 95.
Nayler, James, 68, 69, 78.
Neave family, 121.
negroes, 99, 108.
Nesbitt, Robert, 121.
New Bedford, Mass., 47, 97, 100.
New England Y.M., 127.
New Jersey, 98, 103, 115.
New York, 12, 115.
New York Y.M., 1, 3, **6**, 127.
Newberry family, 26.
Newman, Josiah, 64.
Newsom, Alfred, *Notes of Trip*, 120.
Newton, Benjamin W., **40**.
Newton, Henry, 17.
Newton, Samuel, 60.
Newton, Cheshire, 67.
Newton in Cartmel, 67.
Nicholson family, 126.
Nicholson, Mary, 126.
Nightingale, Benjamin, *Quaker Movement*, 110.
Nightingale, Edward, 60.
Northampton, 100.

oaths, 97.
obituaries, 32, 87.
Offley, Daniel, 89.
Ogden, Jane, *aft.* Chapman, 107.
Ohio Y.M., 1, **7**.
Opie, A., *Temper*, 123.
Orton, 68.
Osborn, John, 9.
Otway, Sir John, 125.
Owstwick Registers, **126**.
Oxley family, 26.

Pardoe, William, 61.
Pardshaw, 68.
Parker, Alexander, 68, 78.
Parker, John, 5.
Parrish, Joseph, 100.
Patrickson, Anthony, 68, 78.
Paul, I. (?John), 108.
peace, 17ff.
Pearson, Anthony, 68.
Pease, E. Lloyd, 130.
Pease, Elizabeth L., *aft.* Fowler, 54.
Pease, Joseph, Sen., 35.
Pease (S.A.) MSS., 48.
Pease, Selfe, *aft.* Smith, 106, 107.
Peasley, A——, 9.
Penington, Isaac, 74, 127.
Penketh School, **114**.
Penn, William, 31, 42, **61**, 74, 99, 114, 116, 123.
Pennington, of U.S.A., 115, 127.
Pennock, Moses, 51.
Pennsylvania, **123**.
Pennsylvania, Cradle of, 115.
Petchell family, 121.
Petherham family, 122.
Phila. Y.M., **1**, 126.
Phila. Yellow Fever, 1793, 89.
Physick, Philip Syng, 131.
Pinder family, 126.
Pinder, Richard, 68.
Pitt, Wm. Morton, 37.
plain language, 97.

" Planet, Jr.," 43.
poetry, see verse.
Portinscale, 68.
Pray, Enos, 112.
Preston, of Holker, 125.
Preston Patrick, 67, 68.
Priestman Brothers, 135.
Printz, Johan, 115, 116.
Procter, William, 1-11, 108.
Progressive Friends, 127.
Proud, Robert (Phila.), 131.
Pumphrey, Stanley (d. 1843), 90.
Pyrmont, 100.

Quaker Methodists, 63.
Quakers (name), 101.
Quare, Daniel, **46**, 131.

Raine family, 121.
Raine, Ann, *aft.* Stephenson, 151.
Rampsnaw, 68.
Ransome, Robert, 51.
Raunce, John, 61.
Rawlinson, Thomas, 68, 75, 77.
Reckless, John, **24**, 60.
Revoult, John, 25, 28.
Rhennish, 120.
Rhodes, Sir John, 64.
Richardson, James N. (d. 1896), 55.
Richardson, Matthew, 125.
Richardson, Thomas (Sunderland), 105, **106**.
Richardson, Thomas (London), 106.
Richmond, Duke of, 86.
Ricketson, of Mass., **95**.
Ricketson, Daniel, 47, 100.
Rickman, Ann, 17.
Rickman, Priscilla, 21.
Rickman, Rachel, 48.
Rigge, Ambrose, 68.
Ritter, Jacob, **88**.
Roberts, Job, 54.
Roberts, Sarah Hooton, *aft.* Allen, 43.
Robertson, Thomas, 68.
Robinson, Richard, 68.
Robson, Elizabeth (Thomas), 2, 5, 7, 105, 106, 121.
Robson, Nathan, 105, 106.
Robson, Thomas, 105, 106.
Robson, Thomas (Liverpool), 121.
Robson, William (1797-1881), 90, **105**.
Rochester, 17.
Rogers family, 26.
Rogers, Mary, *aft. Moore*, 121.
Rogers, William, 61.
Rotch, Joseph, 95.
Rotch, William, 51.
Rowntree family, 121.
Rowntree History, **104**.
Rowson, George, 125.
Rudyard, Thomas, 60, 62.
Rush, Olive, 122.
Russell, of New Bedford, 95.
Russell, Frank J., 55.
Rutty, John, 91.

St. Austell, 65.
Salthouse, Thomas, 68, 78.
Sampson, Louisa, *aft.* Ricketson, 95.
Sams, Joseph, 65, **106**, 107.
Sanderson, of London, 139.
Satterthwait, E. A., *A Gentle Heart*, 47.
Satterthwaite, Clement, 111.
Saunderson family, **126**.
Saur (Sower), J. C., 111.
Savage, Jonathan, 85.
Savage, Thomas, 83.
Scaife, John, 68, 76, 78.
Schmidt, *Pyrmont*, 100.
schools and schoolmasters, 26, 43, 68, 105-108, 125.
Scott, John (Amwell), 27.
Sedbergh, 67, 68.
Separations, 1-11, 138.
Shackamaxon, 116.
Shakespeare, William, 119.
Shaw family, 46.
Shaw, John, 108.
Shillitoe, Thomas, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9.
Shoemaker, Samuel, 12-16.
Short Creek, O., 7.
Shorwicke, John, 111.
Sibbitt, Mary, 112.
Simpson, James, **88**.
Simpson, William, 68, 78.
slavery, 50, 99.
Slee John, 68, 78.
Smith, C. E., *Deep of the Sea*, 118.
Smith, Dorothy, *aft.* Ritter, 89.
Smith, Frederick, 107, 114.
Smith, Henry Frederick, 105, **107**.
Smith, Joshua, 62.
Smith, Maurice and Ann, 114.
Smith, Samuel, 87.
Smithson family, 46.
Snowden, Leonard, 4.
Snowden, Mrs., *Political Pilgrim*, 36.
soldiers become Friends, 68, 70, 102.
Southam, John, 136.
Soutwerke, " Priest," 103.
Sowerby Street, 62.
Sparrow, Anthony, 22, 144.
Sproul, Hon. W. C., 44.
Spurry, William, 69.
Stabler, Edward, 108.
Stacey, George, 21.
Stacey, Thomas, 68.
Stackhouse family, 46.
Stanley, Edmund, 64.
Stanley, Thomas H., **44**.
Stanley, Verlin K., 112.
Stansfield family, 121.
" statesman," **74**, **75**.
Stead, John, 52.
Stephenson family, 121.
Stephenson, Isaac, Senr., **121**.
Stephenson, I., Junr., 121.
Steubensville, O., 8, 9.
Stewardson, Thomas, (3), 4, 9.
Stickney family, 126.
Stockton-on-Tees, 105, 107.
Stoke Newington, 33-35.
Storr family, 126.
Story, John, 68, 78.
Stout, Sarah, **113**.
Stout, William, 77, 116.
Street, Som., 121.
Stuart, Charles Edward, 83.
Stubbs, John, 68, 78, 125.
Stubbs, Thomas, 68.
Sunbrick, 68.
Sunderland, **105**.
Sutcliffe, Robert, 89.
Sutton family, 121.
Sutton, William, 86.
Swarthmoor, 68, 74, 97.
Swarthmoor Account Book, **124**.
Sweden, 115, 116.
Swinton, John, 61.

Tangye Brothers, 53, 57.
Tasmania, Account of, 119.
Tatem, Josiah, 9-11.
Taylor, Christopher, 58, 68.
Taylor, George, 67, 77.
Taylor, Henry, **132**.
Taylor, Jonathan, 4, 7. 8.
Taylor, Thomas (Brighouse), 117.
Taylor, Thomas (Carlton), 68, 78.
Thistlethwaite Ancestry, 46.
Thomas, Abel, 82.
Thomas, Asahel, (7) (8), 144.
Thomas, John, 50.
Thomas, John Chew, 5.
Thomas, Philip E., **11**, 55, 59.
Thomas, Richard H., 127.
Thompson, Thomas (Skipsea), 24, 101.
Thorne, Anna Mary, 127.
Thornton, Anna, *aft.* Ricketson, 95.
Thornton, Elisha, **95**.
Thorp family, 121, 126.
Tickell, Hugh, 68.
Tickhill, 68.
Tindall, of Yorks, 33.
tithes, 97, 108, 125.
tobacco, 99.
Todd, John, 131.
Todthorne, 74.
Tompion, Thomas, **46**, 134.
tones in preaching, 138.
Toomer family, 121.
Tortola, 124.
Totties Hall, 102.
Towse family, 126.
trades and professions, 67-80, 138.
Traherne, Thomas, 101.
Travers, Rebecca, 61.
Treffry family, 37-41.
Treffry, Roger, 130.
Turner family, 126.
Turner, Rebecca, 6, 126.
Turner, Robert (Pa.), 123.
Turner, Robert, Junr., 126.
Tweedy, William, 20.
Tyson, Nicholas, 111.
Tyson, William, 6.

Underbarrow, 67, 68.
Underhill, R.M., *White Moth*, 1.
Unitarian Hist. Soc., 43.
Urswick, 111.
Ussher family, 65.

Van Helmont, F. M., 61.
Varley, James, 130.
Varney Huldah, *aft.* Hoag, 94.
Veale, Mary, *aft.* Treffry, 37.
verse, 42, 47, 94, 103, 119, 123.

Vicars, Katherine, *aft.* Jackson, 102.
Vickris, Richard, 61.
Virginia, 115.
Voltaire, F. M. de, 116.

Wagstaffe, Thomas, **46.**
Waite, Thomas, 61.
Walker, Henry, **103.**
Walker, John, 111.
Walker, Josiah, 86.
Walker, Richard, 125.
Walker, Thomas, 86, 87.
Walney (Wana) Island, 68, 102, 103.
Wandsworth, 26.
Warmsworth, 67.
war-victims, 36.
Warre, Col. William, 18.
Warner, E., *Jordans*, 45.
Warriner, Thomas, 117, 118.
Watchuen Register, **121.**
Wath, 68.
Watson, Joshua, 51.
Watts, A. M., *form.* Howitt, 96, 97.
Waugh, Dorothy, *aft.* Lotherington, 68, 77, 78.
Waugh, Jane, *aft.* Whitehead, 68, 77, 78.
Weatherald, Thomas, 108.
Webster family, 126.
Wells, Samuel, "priest," 120.
Wells, Thomas, **108.**
Wells, William F., 64.
Wesleyana, 45.
West, Benjamin, 13-16, **115.**
Wetherell, Samuel, 52.
whale fishery, 95, 118.
Wheeler, Daniel, 106.
Wheeler, Frederick, 17ff.
Whitall, John M., 127.
Whitall, Joseph, 4.
White, E. G., *Indiana Bookplates*, 122.
White, Josiah, **50.**
White's Manual Labor Schools, 44.
White, Raymond P., 122.
Whitefield, George, 109.
Whitehead, George, 68, 78.
Whitehead, Jane, *form.* Waugh, 77.
Whitehead, John, 68.
Whiting, Mary, 121.
Whittier, J. G., 96, 127.
Widders, Robert, 68.
Wigan, Col. John, 104.
Wigton, School, **114.**
Wilkey, John Fry, 56.
Wilkinson, Bryan, 117.
Wilkinson, John, 68.
Willan, Thomas, 77.
Williams, Ann, *aft.* Ritter, 89.
Williams, Daniel, 127.
Williamson, Dr., *Through Library Door*, 46.
Willis family, 26.
Wilmer Family, 32.
Wilson family, 121.
Wilson, Margaret, *aft.* Bragg, 107.
Wilson, Rachel, 109.
Wilson, William, 125.
Wintringham family, 126.
Wistar, Thomas, 4.
women's ministry, **105.**
Womersley family, 126.
Woodbrooke Journal, 45.
Woodhouse, ship, 77.
Woods, Margaret, 35.
Wooldale, 102.
Woolley, Ezekiel, 61.
Woolman, John, 99.
Worsdell, George, 57, 131.
Worsdell, Nathaniel, 57.
Worsdell, Thomas, 57.
Worsdell, Thomas C., 56.
Wride family, 122.
Wright, Thomas, 3, 4.

Yarmouth, 79.
Yealand, 68.
Year Illustrated, 45.
"yeoman," **73.**
York Castle, 109, 119, 127.

"H. Judge's son in law" (pp. 7, 8). This was, probably, Asahel Thomas, of Stillwater, Ohio. See *Memoirs of Hugh Judge*, 1841, pp. 348, 352.

Anthony Sparrow (pp. 22, 23). *D.N.B.* has an article on this theologian (1612-1685). In 1660, he received a preachership at Bury St. Edmunds; he became Bishop of Exeter and, later, Bishop of Norwich.

Passed for press 31st January, 1923.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

NORMAN PENNEY, LL.D., F.S.A.

VOLUME XX

1923

London

THE FRIENDS' BOOKSHOP, 140 Bishopsgate, E.C.2

American Agents

FRIENDS BOOK AND TRACT COMMITTEE

144 East 20th Street, New York, N.Y.

GRACE W. BLAIR, Media, Pa.

HEADLEY BROTHERS

PRINTERS

18 DEVONSHIRE STREET, E.C.; AND ASHFORD, KENT

Contents

	PAGE
Our Quotation—12	1
Editor's Notes	1, 101
The Ussher Family of County Waterford	2
The Visit of Priscilla Green to Lord Mount Edgcumbe	19
Thones Kunders (Dennis Conrad)	23
Joseph Sams, Schoolmaster, Bookseller and Virtuoso	24
A Few Remarks on the Society of Friends in St. Austell, Cornwall	28
Swarthmoor Hall in 1772	31
Commitments at Cambridge, 1660-61	32
Hands Across the Sea	33, 116
Friends and Current Literature	52, 132
John G. Whittier and Elizabeth Lloyd	57
A Grangerised "George Fox"	58
Recent Accessions to D	59, 138
"A Dear Memory"	61
Thomas Mudd	64
Dr. John Fothergill to Lady Pennington	65
Leading the Way	68, 126
Letters from Joseph Gurney to Joseph Gurney Bevan	71, 102
"The Handsome Quaker"	87
Love-making in Ireland	88
Reflections on London Women's Y.M. 1826	92
Patience Wright, Wax Modeller	95
The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox"	96
Friends in Germantown, Pa.	97
Prize-money Restored	97
Notes and Queries	98, 142

PAGE

On the Way to London Y.M. 1783 115
Calorics in Early Indiana 125
John Wesley and Friends' Workhouse 125
Obituary—R. Hingston Fox 140
The Annual Meeting 140
Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia 140
Officers and Accounts 141
Books Wanted 143
Index 144
Honour for the Editor 148

Vol. XX. No. 1 1923

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editor: NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A.
Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2

For Table of Contents see page two of cover

Our Quotation—12

"These critics of ours who harshly review the books we write, the addresses we give, the schemes of reform for which we work so strenuously—do they do nothing for us? On the contrary, they force us to go deeper, to write with more care, to reconsider our hasty generalisations. . . . They may speak as 'enemies' and they may show a stern and hostile face; but we do well to love them, for they enable us to find our better self and our deeper powers."

R. M. JONES, *Spiritual Energies in Daily Life*, 1922, p. 29.

Editor's Notes

BY the kindness of ex-President Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, Pa., we are able to send, free, to all our members with this issue of THE JOURNAL, a copy of the address which was delivered at the Annual Meeting in 1922, considerably enlarged, entitled: "Tortola: A Quaker Experiment of Long Ago in the Tropics."

This book will form Supplement 13 to THE JOURNAL.[1]

We hope that during this year some action may be entered upon which will fitly commemorate the ter-centenary of the birth of George Fox and assist the work of THE JOURNAL in disseminating information respecting the history of Friends.

[1] Copies may be obtained through the Bookshop for five shillings ($1.25), post free.

The Ussher Family of County Waterford

[The story of the Quaker Haigs of Bemersyde which appeared in volume xvii. was described as " a curious little Quaker episode in the long history of the Lairds of Bemersyde," and the fulness of biographical detail during the Quaker period was noted.

There are other examples of Quaker incursions into family history, as, for instance, in the families of Ashby, Barnardiston, Hewetson, Paul, Pennyman and Ussher. The following article deals with Hewetson, Paul and Ussher.]

IN the South of Ireland, in the County of Waterford, there lived " two ancient and honourable families," named Ussher and Paul. In 1770 these two families were united by the marriage of John Ussher, of Cappagh, with Elizabeth Paul, of Waterford City.

The Rev. William Ball Wright, M.A., in his *Ussher Memoirs ; or Genealogical Memoirs of the Ussher Families in Ireland*, published in 1889,[1] has traced that family back to Arland Ussher, who was Mayor of Dublin in 1469. Among his descendants were two Archbishops of Armagh and Primates of all Ireland—Henry Ussher (*c.* 1550-1613), and James Ussher (1580/81-1656), noted for his piety and learning—and also Henry Ussher (1741-1790), first Astronomer Royal of Ireland.

Our concern is with that branch of the family which settled in the County Waterford, headed by Lt.-Col. Beverley Ussher (1649-1683), whose youngest son was Arthur Ussher (1683-1768), " of Camphire and Cappagh, Co. Waterford." The third and youngest son of Arthur Ussher was John Ussher (1743-1789), who succeeded to the

[1] A copy of this volume of 306 pages was most kindly lent me by Mrs. Beverley Ussher (née Jebb), of Cappagh House, Cappagh, Co. Waterford, a sister of Mrs. Charles Roden Buxton. On its return journey the book was " recovered from raided post " and reached its destination in safety.

family property on the death of his elder brothers and married, as his second wife, Elizabeth Paul, 26th August, 1770.

Of the family of Paul I have not been able to obtain much information, but it appears that it came into prominence at the time of the Commonwealth, and has taken high rank among the families of South Ireland. Jeffery Paul was M.P. for Waterford and married in 1708. His son, William Paul (-1797), a prominent and opulent Alderman of the City of Waterford, married Mary, daughter of Alexander Boyd, of Crook, Co. Waterford, and had one daughter, Elizabeth (*c.* 1749-1817), who married John Ussher, of Cappagh. William's brother, Christmas Paul, was father of Joshua Paul, the first Baronet (created 1794). The second Baronet was Joshua Christmas (1773-1842), the third was Robert Joshua (1820-1898), the fourth William Joshua (1851-1912), who married Richenda Juliet Gurney, daughter of Henry Edmund Gurney, of Nutwood, Reigate. The fifth and present Baronet is Robert Joshua (b. 1883), who lives on the family estate at Ballyglan, Co. Waterford.

John Ussher (1743-1789), of Cappagh, married, firstly, in 1761, Elizabeth Musgrave and had five children, the eldest and only surviving son being Arthur Ussher (1764-1820), of Camphire, who married Margaret Hewetson in 1788 and had issue. John Ussher married, secondly, in 1770, Elizabeth, daughter of William Paul, who added twelve children to his family. He lived at Camphire till his second marriage, when he removed to Cappagh. Cappagh lies between Dungarvan and Cappoquin on the direct railway from Waterford to Cork.

[Prior to obtaining information from outside sources, I had prepared an article based on *The Ussher Letters*, a small volume first published in 1812, reprinted in 1815 and re-issued with a Memoir of Elizabeth Ussher in 1845; also on letters and manuscripts in **D**.

I propose to leave the article as originally drafted and add or correct in footnotes, where necessary.

My thanks for help received are tendered to Mrs. Ussher, of Cappagh House for the loan of the *Ussher Memoirs;*

to J. Ernest Grubb, for the loan of *Memoirs of the House of Hewetson*, first edition, and for other valuable assistance; and to Juliet, Lady Paul, and her brother, Henry Gurney, for particulars of the Paul family. I have also consulted the volumes of Burke's *Peerage*, etc.]

The daughters of John and Elizabeth (Paul) Ussher who were the writers of *The Ussher Letters* were Elizabeth (1772-1796), Lucy (1776-1797), Judith (1779-1798) and Susanna (1783-1798)[2]. The letters cover the period 1794-1798.

The position occupied by these two families introduced their members into fashionable and gay society. The children of J. and E. (P.) Ussher were educated in the tenets of the Church of England but the daughters, not finding therein the soul-satisfaction they desired, began to attend Dissenting places of worship. Their spiritual exercise may have resulted, in part, from the death in 1789, of the father to whom they were closely attached and perhaps also from their own delicate health. It is said of the eldest daughter, Elizabeth, that " as soon as her heart was convinced that her former dress was contrary to Gospel simplicity, she put away all the vain and superfluous parts of it." She was inclined to the Baptist way, but she formed an objection to water-baptism, as well as to gay clothing, before she had heard of the Quakers. She wrote in 1795 :

> I am *not* prejudiced against any sect, indeed I am not. . . . All that love the Lord Jesus must have been first loved by Him, and shall I not love those whom Jesus loves—brethren and sisters for whom Christ died ?

Some years after the father's death the mother and daughters spent a winter in Bath and during this period Elizabeth visited an aunt in Bristol, " who was a religious person and had withdrawn from gay life and a conspicuous rank in which she was placed," and attended Dissenting places of worship with her, remaining at The Wells when the others returned to Ireland. Her letters to her mother and sisters show how deep were the impressions made.

But the bonds of sisterhood were soon to be broken—" a neglected cold fell on her lungs," and Elizabeth's life

[2] There were two other daughters—Mary (1773-1784) and Anna (1784-1784).

soon came to an end; she died in Bristol in the summer of 1796 aged about twenty years. Her mother and Lucy were with her at the close. Although, apparently, she had not come into personal contact with Friends, she wrote in 1795:

> Tell ———, if you have no objection, that (from my soul) I wish she was what they call a Quaker, but that, most of all, I wish her to be a Christian.

The brief notice of Elizabeth Ussher, Senior, added to the *Letters*, states that soon after her eldest daughter's death, she became acquainted with some members of the Society of Friends, but the contact with Friends must have been made earlier, as is evident from the extract just given and other extracts from the *Letters*. Lucy wrote to Judith from Bristol, "8th Month 11th, 1796":

> We go to meetings when our attendance on Eliza will admit of it. Hannah Stephenson, a minister, sat with us and spoke comfortably to us.

Judith, who was from home, wrote her mother, "Feb. 12th, 1796":

> I have studied the chapters dear mother particularly mentioned, and though personally unknown, think your new acquaintance a happy set of people.

The sisters also became acquainted with several members of the Society and wrote letters—Lucy to Mary Dudley and Judith to Mary Watson in 1796 and the latter to William Crotch in the following year. A copy of Judith's letter to William Crotch is in **D**, dated "Waterford 30. i., 1797"; it contains the following self-depreciatory lines:

> All nature seems to frown and the creatures yield no consolation. My bed seems to be made in the deep waters where the floods have overflowed my soul and the weeds are wrapped about my head.

The Memoir of Elizabeth Ussher, before mentioned, states that she and her daughters Lucy, Judith and Susanna "were received into the Society of Friends in the year 1797."[3] But the privileges of membership were not to be enjoyed by the daughters for long. Lucy Ussher, as her elder sister, was dissatisfied from her early days "with the forms and repetitions of the established worship," and becoming acquainted with several Friends, she accompanied

[3] The *Ussher Memoirs* recording this fact state that Friends "carried on an intense religious movement in the South of Ireland, the Church being then in a very dead state" (p. 243).

them to meetings and was convinced. She was much helped by the ministry of Mary Ridgway and much encouraged by attendance at a meeting for Discipline—the only one at which she was present. "She was taken ill of a consumption and died the latter part of 1797, aged about twenty-one years."

Judith Ussher's convictions became much those of her sisters though "she had by nature somewhat more to subdue than her sisters." Elizabeth wrote to Judith in 1795:

> You have found a precious Saviour, the Pearl of great price. The Saviour loves you with an everlasting love.

Judith appears to have spent some time away from home at Youghal, and her sisters were apprehensive lest her surroundings should hinder her spiritual life.

In the early days of 1798, the third daughter was called away, leaving Susanna only—but not for long. The bereaved mother wrote to her friend, Mary Watson, 3 ii. 1798:

> Well, my friend, art thou prepared for the sad recital? Then know that in seven weeks after my beloved Lucy was laid in her grave, my precious Judith was placed at her side. Our valued Friends, Deborah Darby & Rebecca Young & William Savery, have had living testimonies to bear of her happiness.
>
> At the time my Judith was taken my ever honored Father[4] was seized with a Paralytick stroke that in a few days ended his life.

But the writer did not feel so full of hope in her father's death as she did in that of her "sweet three girls."

Among the last words spoken by Judith were: "Oh, John, all is peace, sweet peace."

Of Susanna Ussher less is known. She is referred to in affectionate terms in her sisters' letters. A leaf of her memorandum book is preserved in **D**, written when she was about thirteen:

> Deborah Darby & Rebeka Young came here last 5th day y^e^ 29 of 12 M^o^. 1797 came to see us next evening. both appeared remarkably in the Ministry. had 3 publick Meetings.

When fifteen only, the call which had been answered by all her sisters came to her and she was released from her acute bodily sufferings.

[4] Under date of April 20, 1795, Lucy wrote to Elizabeth: "My grandfather and grandmother are reconciled to our going to meeting and leaving the public worship, and appear as affectionate as ever."

The stricken mother thus refers to her losses in her diary :

11th month, 21st, 1797. My beloved Lucy departed this life between four and five o'clock in the evening, and her sweet, meak spirit, fitted for her beloved Lord by deep and purifying baptisms, was released to be for ever with Him whom her soul loved. . . .

1st month, 9th, 1798. At half-past seven this evening, my beloved Judith was taken to glory nearly seven weeks after her dear sister. . . .

3rd month, 8th. At a quarter past two o'clock in the afternoon, it pleased my dear Lord to take my precious Susan, the last of all my daughters, to himself. . . . I have great cause to say that all anguish was lost in the brightness of divine goodness.

The following extracts of a letter from Mary Dudley are taken from a manuscript in **D**:

Elizabeth Usher of Waterford has lost her only surviving daughter. By advice she had taken her a land journey to Clonmel, as a trial how she would bear crossing to the hot wells, the precious child (about 15 yrs old) seemed fully aware of the impending stroke said she felt for her mother in her intended journey to England, as she would be left destitute after, when she was removed. After getting here she said " she knew before she left home she should be soon with her God, at which she was not grieved as she might not be able to overcome the evil that might attend." As she died within these borders, her mother was easy to have the remains inter'd in our burying ground, which was done between the morning and afternoon meetings. The afflicted mother attended the two meetings tho' in much weakness and in the first appeared in a few sentences (having moved in this line several months). She has been wonderfully supported under these heart rending seperations from truly desirable connections. I know not of two more lovely plants than the elder ones, Lucy and Judith, nor for the time scarcely such a maturity in religious groth, which ripened fast for a glorious soil ; and rapidly decreased as to the body, only 7 weeks between the two first, and about 8 to dear Susans close ; the peace which preciously covered their closing scenes some will long (I hope) remember. For my part, I never felt a more sensible evidence near approaching death than when I took my leave of dear Lucy a few days before she departed, I thought it was like a song of triumph uttered in the secret of my heart beyond the reach or expression of words ; she sweetly call'd me back after I just said, " *All is well all sealed with everlasting peace,*" and raising her dear head from the pillow to kiss me she sweetly said twice " *Farewell.*" The lovely Judith was then like a faded flower and soon drop'd, I never after beheld her nor was I so circumstanced as to attend either of them to the grave.

I must now sum up the remainder of the life of the much-tried Elizabeth Ussher. It is probable that on her husband's death in 1789, she removed into Waterford City;

ten years later she wrote from Dunmore to Mary Watson, of Waterford, of her removal to a smaller residence :

> There is something peculiarly sweet in the simplicity of a cottage, that is difficult to come at in a more splendid habitation.

E. Ussher was recorded a Minister in 1806 and travelled with a certificate visiting the Meetings of Friends in London and elsewhere in England.

There are notices of Elizabeth Ussher in the Journals of Friends visiting the South of Ireland. David Sands acknowledges the kindness of E. U. in supplying him with a comfortable carriage (Waterford, 1798). William Savery has a larger reference to her in his *Journal* (pages 270, 272, 299) :

> 1798. 1st month.
>
> 8th ; went to see the place intended for a boarding-school, which is a fine, healthy spot ; from thence we visited the widow Usher, a valuable woman of excellent understanding, who has been received among Friends within a year past, since which, she has lost two excellent daughters in consumption, a third is now near her end, and a fourth evidently going the same way. She has been supported in her affliction marvellously, and her daughters have made a precious end, as the one now going will also soon do. She was sensible, and looked on us with a sweet countenance—all felt like peace around her bed, and I was comforted in being with the family.
>
> 1st month 1798.
>
> 12th ; visited Elizabeth Usher, and found her in much Christian resignation to the will of the Lord, though her third lovely daughter was to be buried to-day ; having lost two others in a consumption, and a son in another way, within a twelvemonth ; her father at this time lying a corpse, and her fourth and last daughter likely very soon to follow her sisters in the same disease. Her state of mind, as well as that of her dear remaining daughter, was truly instructive to me. Her son [John], who had not professed with Friends, came a few hours before Judith's death, to take leave of her ; she looked at him with much serenity of countenance, bade him farewell, and said with a voice louder than she had for some time : " All is peace, sweet peace," and so departed, praising God in joyful hope of a blessed change approaching. Her corpse was carried to the meeting-house, but not brought in where the meeting was held, but left in the women's meeting-room, which is their custom ; for as they are surrounded by Roman Catholics, they might take up the opinion that Friends brought the corpse into the meeting, with the idea that it would be profitable to the departed spirit to pray over it. Through the renewed mercy of our heavenly Father, it was a precious parting meeting ; many of the dear youth were much affected as also others. The corpse being put in a plain oak coffin, and placed upon a hearse, was led slowly through the streets to the burying-ground ; friends, relations, &c., following

promiscuously :—all business seemed to cease as we passed along, and much stillness appeared among the people, many of whom knew the family, they being of high rank ; the grandfather who lay a corpse, was the eldest alderman of the city. At the graveyard, a multitude were collected, both Friends and others, high and low ; and I believed it my duty to say a few words, and rehearse the comforting expressions of the deceased ; after which there was a further communication from another Friend, and many not of our Society were much broken. The Lord be praised for his goodness.

6th month, 1798.

18th. Attended the usual morning meeting preceding the yearly meeting [London]. Thomas Scattergood appeared in prayer, and also Elizabeth Usher from Ireland ; Friends kept their seats a considerable time after she knelt, not knowing her, for which I was sorry. I stood up, and Friends followed my example ; much solemnity appeared to cover the meeting ; and it so ended.

There are a few slight references in the sisters' letters to the sons of John and Elizabeth Ussher, and other mention, probably, in places where that objectionable method has been employed of substituting a —— for a name. We gather that the eldest died abroad about 1796[5] and that another son[6] had died shortly before, both in a foreign land. Elizabeth and Lucy wrote of their brother William who had passed through Bristol on his way to Gibraltar in September, 1795. The former wrote under date, 1795 :

I look forward with pleasure to seeing my dear William after so long an absence, though I am sure I do not think he will be so pleased with me. However, the Lord is on my side. I will not fear. His coming here may be for the better.

Richard and John[7] were younger sons, John being a great favorite with his sisters. During E. Ussher's illness in Bristol in 1798, brought on by close attendance upon her daughter Lucy, she wrote that these two boys, then

5 This was William, born in 1771. He was Captain in the 64th Regiment and was killed in a duel at Gibraltar, in March, 1796.

6 Thomas Paul Ussher, born in 1775, was Ensign in the 64th Regiment, and died of yellow fever at Martinique in April, 1794.

7 Richard Keily and John were the only surviving children of Elizabeth Ussher. For Richard see *post*. John was born in 1786 and entered Ballitore School in 1796. He lived in mature life at Landscape, near New Ross, Co. Wexford, married and had a family. He died in 1844. Despite his upbringing he did not attach himself to Friends.

with her, were "both very sweet;" and in 1797, she wrote from Dunmore to Mary Watson:

> I have my dear John here for a short time. He is very sweet, but very thin & not much polished but very innocent & stedfast in his little way to bear his cross.

At the close of 1799, E. Ussher wrote of the need for a boarding school for John "for about two years, as Richard Rowe's school seems withering away," adding:

> I cannot think rusticity of manners and too confined an education is by any means essential to a Religious one. My John has lost much time. He looks delicate but seems healthy. His preservation every way is truly interesting to me.

Son John is again mentioned in a letter of 1804.

Before this time Judith had written to her mother, "July 23rd, 1796":

> Respecting our beloved John, my grandfather is perfectly satisfied that you should have him to do as you please with him and bring him up in any religious society most agreeable to you: as to the nomination he seems quite indifferent, so that he leads an honest life. He also wishes to have him brought up to any employment most approved of by you; he says he will not interfere, and desires me to say what I could to ease your mind.

Between her marriage and her death, Elizabeth Ussher had suffered the loss of two step-children (Susanna, in 1781 and John in 1782—one of her husband's daughters, Lucy, had died the year before the marriage), and of her own children she lost ten, Paul in 1781, John in 1783, Mary and Anna in 1784, Thomas Paul in 1794, William and Elizabeth in 1796, Lucy in 1797, Judith and Susanna in 1798.

Of John Ussher's seventeen children by his two Elizabeths only four lived to adult age—Arthur (1764–1820) succeeded his father in the Camphire estate and had descendants; Sarah (b. 1767) married Ussher Boate; and Richard and John before mentioned.

Richard Keily Ussher, the third son of Elizabeth Ussher, was born in 1778. He entered the navy at the age of twelve and when only sixteen while going out to the West Indies such storms were encountered that his senior officers were all incapacitated by overwork, and he had to take command and work the ship. While in the West Indies he nearly

died of yellow fever. On his brother William's death in 1796 he succeeded to the estate and left the Navy. He married Martha Hewetson, daughter of the Rev. John Hewetson, of Suirville, Co. Kilkenny, and in 1836 he married again and had issue.

[The Hewetson (or by its earlier form, Hewson) family was settled in Ireland before the middle of the sixteenth century. The father of Martha (Hewetson) Ussher was a man of some importance in his district. In 1764 he was appointed a J.P. for his county. He was known as "Whiteboy Hewetson" by reason of his energetic suppression of the Whiteboy Insurrection in 1767. There is an interesting account of the Rev. John and his family at Suirville in the *Memoirs of the House of Hewetson of Ireland*.]

The *Ussher Memoirs* state :

> Richard Ussher, tho he did not conform to the Society of Friends, imbibed their conscientious objections to take or administer oaths and accordingly ceased to be a Magistrate. By a letter to his brother John we find that for these reasons he declined the office of High Sheriff, which was several times pressed on him.

But he was very active in upholding law and order. His brother-in-law, George Hewetson, and he were "the only magistrates in Co. Waterford who could be got to execute the laws," which needed some courage when the district was "abandoned to lawlessness." He greatly improved his property at Cappagh. He died in 1854. Martha (Hewetson) Ussher, following the example of her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law, joined the Society of Friends.

> Mrs. Ussher was a herbalist and in the absence of medical charities she effected innumerable cures among the peasantry and carried on various household arts, such as weaving and spinning, candle-making, etc. Amongst her intellectual accomplishments the art of poetry was conspicuous.

Childless herself, she adopted her niece, Martha Ussher, daughter of her sister Margaret and Arthur Ussher, of Camphire. The said niece married Edward Roberts, of Weston, Co. Waterford, uncle of Field Marshal Earl Roberts.

Another daughter of Arthur Ussher was Wilhelmina (Mina), who is referred to in the following letter (original in **D**) :

Cappagh

6. iii. [1825]

Dear friend Mary Watson,

I feel clear of being in any way responsible for the union of T. Greer & M. Ussher.

When he proposed marriage she consulted her Uncle, as guardian. He approved, as Thomas Greer was " not a Member of Society " & M. Ussher being religious was more likely to help than hinder him. Richard read thy letter to Mina Ussher ; she said she had declared she would try to get T. Greer to rejoin F^ds.

I do not know how long T. G. is in this country. I am glad thy health is better & hope thou mayest continue long amongst us.

Richard unites with me in love to thee & thy daughter,

thy friend,

M. USSHER

[Martha Ussher]

address :—Mary Watson
Bridge Street
Waterford

Mina Ussher married Thomas Greer, J.P., of Tullylagan, Co. Tyrone, 17th April, 1825, and had issue. There was evidently a close connection with Friends as the names Greer, Strangman, Goff (of Horetown), etc., among her descendants indicate.

Martha (Hewetson) Ussher died in 1827.

NORMAN PENNEY.

ADDENDUM

Mrs. Ussher, of Cappagh, has lent me a typed copy of " The Diary of Martha Ussher of Cappagh " and has allowed me to print extracts therefrom. The original is at Cappagh House.

There is a legend in the family that Richard Ussher married Martha Hewetson to get away from the Quakers, and then her mother-in-law converted her and she never rested from trying to convert him ! It will be seen how far the husband was " gained by the manner of life " of the wife. There is no indication in the Diary of any interest in the things mentioned on page 11 or of a poetic turn of mind.

On reading over some of the conflicts that has been the experience of my mind which I have from time to time committed to writing, it appeard to me that I should not destroy them, that they may yet be of use to the Individual who witnessed many of them.

At this time my only knowledge of the Society of Friends was that they were a people that did not use baptism so calld or the bread and wine, and I had always considered them not Christians. To their particular mode of worship I was an utter stranger and lamented that my dear and valued Mother and Sister in laws had been lost to the World by joining that Society. . . . On my return from England 1808 I first visited my dear Mother who was then engagd with Thomas Shillitoe visiting Friends' families. . . . I one day opened a book at my Mother's whilst waiting for breakfast, not with any hope of instruction, but thought, what can they say in defence of their way of worship and absurd peculiarities, when my attention was arrested by the recital of feelings exactly similar to my own. It was a convincement of [blank in copy] who, also, was brought up in the Established worship. I was then made willing to take up the cross and follow the great Captain of our Salvation even to Mount Calvary. Now began my outward trials to prove and strengthen my faith and love. My dear Husband was the Instrument unerring Wisdom chose. His opposition was firm against my changing my mode of worship—every change of appearance I felt required of me he resisted, until at length he determined on our final separation. In consequence of his opposition to my wearing handkerchiefs, I lost the sweet hope of being a mother.

[A message from Thomas Shillitoe gave much comfort to her] T. Shillitoe was in Dublin at the yearly meeting, and I received this message the very day that the tempter had nearly prevailed against me—he coud not have commund with flesh and blood ; we were sepperated more than 70 miles.

The words spoken to me by Sarah Grubb and John Wigham, when favord to be remembered by them in a family visit now return to mind.

5th Mº 30th, 1813. Clifton Road, Hopes Square.

With fear and trembling have I left my own peaceful and quiet home, dreading the weakness of the flesh and the snares of the enemy again uniting me with a World that had such power over me.

No words can express my agony of soul when my dear husband in a more affectionate manner than I have [been] long used to, wanted me in a shop where bonnets were sold [and] wanted me to get one. Nothing short of the terrors of the Lord coud have kept me from being unfaithful to what I felt required of me, on seeing my dear husbands unfeigned sorrow for what he termd my hypocrisy.

Cheltenham. 1st day 27th 6th Mº.

Went to Meeting. Mary Cash from Liverpool, and her daughter were at Meeting—the former spoke beautifully.

29th of 9th Mº 1813. Returnd to my home. Many and deep have been the conflicts of my tried mind since I left it.

2nd Mº 4th, 1814. Thou hast promisd to keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayd on thee. Oh, why is it thus with me ? Why am I torn as between Heavn and Earth, my duty to Thee and my duty to my husband in direct opposition. Surely I may say, after the

conversation I had with my dear husband this morning the bitterness of death is past—he told me to consider myself as parted from him, which he was determined to do as soon as he coud arrange his affairs he woud not again see me. It is marvellous I am able to write it. He has left his room a long time. He has not spoken to me until this fatal morning a long time. My heart cannot hold life and the feeling it has at present. Shoud it be so? Perhaps he may read this and may feel his heart was hardened even as Pharaohs against me.

½ past 8 at night.

I have written a letter and laid it on his table. How can I endure this?

5 of 2nd Mº 1st day.

My dear husband has condescended a little, he consented to let me go to Meeting this day. Dear Margaret Hoyland was favord to supplicate for those under deep and bitter baptisms.

3rd Mº.

Still does my dear Hd oppose my seeing or going to Friends, even my dear Mother. Oh! what must be her conflicts to know her child is opposing the Power that in unutterable love led his dear sisters to the Mansions of bliss.

4th Mº. A letter to my dear Mother denying the Ministry of friends, calling them self-made Ministers. Where will this end?

9th Mº 1814.

Thro Mercy, undeservd Mercy, am I enabld again to note the marvellous dealings of the Lord with my dear husband and myself—since writing the above He has been pleasd to take in a most remarkable manner, as in a moment, the delight of our eyes from us, and that in such a way and with evidences that even the unbelieving dare not doubt the Hand that did it. He that smote the first born in Pharaoh's House has smote my dear dear boy. For our sakes was he smitten. Oh, may it not have been in vain.

2nd Mº 26th, 1st day.

This day in Meeting, G. Blain expressed her earnest desire that all present shoud go down to the depths of their own hearts, there to learn what was their Master's will.

1st day, 12th of 3rd Mº.

George Sanders and Susanna Horn[e] from England and Elizabeth Cogshell [Coggeshall] from America were at Meeting. They spoke to many states present, but so particularly to mine that to those who will not believe in the source of their Ministry they woud suppose they had been informd of it.

3rd Mº 1817.

The 19th of the last Mº my dear brother George Hewetson was taken . . . to everlasting peace and rest. For the first days of his illness he usd to say: "Oh! Martha, He is a God of terror." For the last 3 days he usd to say: "He is a God of love."

Mary Owen whose affectionate kindness was unremitting was

with me at the time. We sat by the bedside for near an hour and such was the covering of peace that was over us, and coud not shed a tear.

3rd M° 27th, 1817.

My dear valuable Mother, Elizabeth Ussher, was taken from works to rewards. I now feel as if a covering was taken from my head now that I was exposd to every danger. My dear husbands spirit seems much tenderd by the last two awful events.

23rd 1st M° 1818.

21st returnd from Cork where I was favord to attend the Monthly Meeting. John and Sarah Grubb were there. Awful was the warning Sarah G. had to proclaim—that were there then present that woud be cut off, if they did not return unto the Lord and forsake the evil of their ways.

23rd of 2nd M°.

My dear sister Drew went with me to Waterford. Stayd with our valued friends William and Elizabeth Blain. Sarah and J. Grubb were visiting friends families, They sat with us same evening warnd me of the dreadful pit of indifference. Next day they returnd to Clonmel to attend the interment of our dear and valued friend Samuel Davis. He was a solid weighty elder.

18th of 4th M°.

My dear husband attended the Q.M. held in Clonmel. He appears fully convincd and deeply to feel the difference between a Ministry proceeding from the Minister of Ministers, and that which only proceeds from Man. Anna Fo[r]ster and Priscilla Gurney from England were there.

5th M° 9th.

Went to Waterford to meet Anna Foster and P. G. . . . Im favord to return to my home and to find my dear husband and niece in usual health. My soul troubld within me. I went to Waterford expecting help and direction vouchsafd me thro' the two dear Ministring Friends A. F. and P. G., they have expressd a wish to see me, but sorrow and disappointment being my lot I returnd in heaviness.

5th M° 28th, 1819.

This year I have been favord to attend the Q. Meeting held in Cork, the Q.M. held in Clonmel and the Yearly Meeting in Dublin. At the two last we were favord with the company of B. White from America and John Pim from London.

7th M° 18th.

Attended the Q.M. held at Youghal. J. Kirkham from England was there—a greatly gifted Minister.

3rd M° 21st.

My dear husband returnd from attending the Assizes. From the uneasiness he seemd to suffer before going, it woud appear to me the convictions of his mind are against it.

14th of 5th M° 1820. 1st day evening.

Last 5th day. I was favord to return to my home from Dublin where I went to attend the Yearly M. accompanied by my dear

husband and sister Drew. We were favord with the company of our dear and valued friend Stephen Grellet, William Allen and his daughter, Mary Allen, Ann Jones and Elizabeth Robson with Mary John Cook and many other friends from England.

1820. 6th of 8th Mº.

My dear brother-in-law Arthur Ussher departed this life. The 4th. E. Robson and M. Hoyland came from Waterford and held a meeting for friends in the morning and one for the towns people in the evening, which was largely attended by people of the first-class, many of whom bore testimony to the power of Truth then spoken to them. The dear friends calld in to see my husband and me, when we had a very favord opportunity. Great encouragement was handed to my dear husband to be faithful unto Him who had calld him with a high and holy calling.

The 4th of 12th Mº. I was visited by the Overseers not having attended Meetings as to them appeard I might. Unto the Teacher of hearts I submit my cause. He knoweth all things and will in His own time make way for me.

The 20th of 1st Mº 1821.

My dear husband and I attended the Q.M. at Cork. Hulda Press [should be Sears] from Virginia, America, and Ann Enaroild [Ecroyd] was there.

27th of 9th Mº.

Left my home at 4 in the morn, got to W. just as friends were going into Meeting. May I be thankful for having way made for me . . . without being too anxious about the how and the where and the when.

1822.

This year has commencd with a renewd mercy in preserving my husband's Life and mine, when in imminent danger from a horse running away with us.

Dublin, 28th 4th Mº.

Accompanied by my dear husband I have come here to attend the Y.M. [Visiting Friends present were " Anna Braithwaite, Ellen Cogshell and her husband, an Elder[8], Rebecca Bird and her husband, William Allen from London " and others.]

10th of 7th Mº. Favord to have Robert Fowler a valuable Minister from England under our roof ; a favord opportunity after breakfast.

28th 9th Mº.

My dear Rd attended the Assizes. I went with him to Waterford in sorrow and heaviness, feeling that he is not in his place. He narrowly escapd being High Sheriff.

Dublin. 7th of 11th Mº 1822.

26th of last Mº my dear Rd brought me home [? here] to get the advice of Physicians.

[8] Should be Ellen *Cockin*, see *Jnl.* xv. 59. Her husband was Richard Cockin.

16th of 12th Mº 1822.

We have been favord to return to our home and to find our dear Niece, her husband and sweet children well.

1823. 1st Mº 20.

Attended Cork Q.M. with my dear Rd, Margaret Hoyland, Rebecca Ridgway, Hannah Kilham [present]. Hannah Kilham is an English Friend come over for the benevolent purpose of trying to do something for the poor and too long neglected females of the lowest class in this land. I esteemd it a great favor to have her to lodge at my house. She spoke encouragingly to me in respect to my dear husband.

4th Mº 21st.

Attended Q.M. at Clonmel with my dear Rd, Robert Fowler and his wife, Silvanus Fox and his wife from Wellington, Somerset, were there. Silvanus Fox began with those words : " He that is ashamed of me and of my testimony before Men of him will I be ashamed before my Heavenly Father and His Angels." At the time of his standing up, the very words he expressd passd thro my mind and that they were for my dearest Richard. Oh, may they not be spoken in vain !

1st Mº 23, 1824.

Attended Cork Q.M. Mary Watson, R. Ridgway, Sarah Tennet and Rd Allen all large in Testimony. R. Ridgway on 3rd day was very awful. She said it appeard to her there were some present that woud not be with the assembling of the people again. She calld on them to prepare and seek for acceptance.

22nd 4th Mº attended the Yearly Meeting alone. Oh ! solitary. My feelings are favord to lodge in the same room with dear Rebecca Ridgway, Sarah Grubb desird me to tell Rd U. with her dear love to be careful that all his stepings were in the Light for that if he did not he woud be led into confusion. This she said in an awful and impressive manner.

Liverpool.

My dear husband and I were favord to get safe home [? here] in a Steam Packet from Dublin. Attended Meeting.

5th day. Got to Buxton. Met with kind friends, Thomas and Lucy Hayle from Manchester. James Cropper and his wife and daughter, Eliza—a valuable family, attended Meeting at Moneyash twice. Ebenezer Boman and his wife who live near very kind to us.

Ann Allexander from York, held a publick Meeting at Buxton, tho' not fully attended it was a time of renewd strength I do believe to some there.

1825. 1st Mº 14th.

Attended the Q.M. held at Cork. Mary Watson and Rebecca Ridgway were as clouds filld with the dew of Heaven for the replenishing of our drooping vineyard.

25th of 5th Mº.

Rd and I went to Youghal, attended Meeting next day, Marg Thugg [Bragg] from Newcastle on the Tyne was there—a greatly gifted and powerful Instrument.

[After a visit to Youghal where was John Shipley.]

Returnd to my home accompanied by dear E. Blain and T. and Mary Watson, and one John Pim from London, and Joseph Pike came here in the evening. J. Pim and E. B. sat with my dear husband and me when the language of encouragement was mercifully handed to me and to my dear R^d, tho' I fear the language of reproof was what I might have expected, John Shipley sat with us in Youghal and nearly expressd the same.

Our friends left us in much love. Margaret Hoyland, Jane Ridgway and a young woman came here to breakfast on their way. My desire is to be thankful for having such friends under our roof. Oh! that my lot was cast where I coud have the company of such and no other.

25th of 12th M°.

A day of hope that the Lord is gaining the victory over the world in my dear husbands soul.

22nd of 12th M°.

This day my dear husband left me for Dublin, uncertain of returning to me or his home. He has been appointed High Sheriff, he cannot take the oaths. The Lord has now made him willing to submit to any penalty.

24th.

My dear R^d returned to me having written to Government assigning his reasons.

7th of 1st M° 1826.

A second time have I had to give up my dearest husband now doubly near and dear to me in that bond of union that surpasses all earthly ties. His reasons woud not be taken and he this day left me to go to Dublin, not knowing what awaited him.

[There is nothing further respecting the shrievalty. The last entry is]

13th 1st M°.

My soul sufferd this day in my solitary sitting agony, even to cry out—" Oh! forsake me not utterly."

BAPTISM.—Wiggington, Co. Oxford. Extract from Transcripts of Parish Registers, now at Bodleian, Oxford:

" JOHN COATS of riper years (having been bred up a Quaker) the son of James Coats of the parish of South Newington, deceased, & Martha his Wife was baptised in this Church on Friday y^e 25^th Day of January 1782. n.b. It appears by a copy of the Quaker Register at South Newington, signed James Marshall, that the said John Coats was born the 9th of the 4th Month called April, 1764."

The Visit of Priscilla Green to Lord Mount Edgcumbe

PRISCILLA GREEN (1802-1877) was the third daughter of Joseph Markes Green, of Jordans, Saffron Walden (where she was born), and Little Chesterford, Essex. She was delicate from her childhood, and was so tall and attenuated that " as thin as Priscilla Green " became a proverb in Walden. She first spoke as a Minister on her thirty-first birthday and was " recorded " in 1836, and from that time until within the last few years of her life when ill-health prevented, she was almost constantly employed in ministerial service, often being away from home for months at a time. She travelled extensively in Great Britain and Ireland, in the Channel Islands, and, with her friend Mary Nicholson, of Whitehaven,[1] paid an extensive visit to Friends and others in North America, 1856-58

With her friend, Mary Nicholson, P. Green also visited the President of the United States, James Buchanan, who received them very kindly. P. Green delivered a gospel message and offered a striking prayer on his behalf. " On parting the President thanked them, and said he hoped he should become a wiser and better man."

Priscilla Green's appearance, character, and voice were all very striking. She was very tall, and as we have said, had a delicate and attenuated frame. Owing to her life-long delicacy, she usually wore a blue veil over her Quaker bonnet, which she raised when engaged in the ministry.

Considering her poor health, her eyesight being also much affected which necessitated her living in a darkened room, nothing but a supreme sense of duty could have impelled her to take the large part she did in the exercise of the ministry, and she was frequently laid up in the course of her engagements away from home.

[1] Mary Nicholson (1797-1867), a Minister; obituary memoir in *The Annual Monitor*, 1868.

We now come to P. Green's visit to Lord and Lady Mount Edgcumbe, with her companion, Hannah Christiana Price, of Clifton, Bristol, formerly of Saffron Walden.

H. C. Price wrote a long letter of eight pages to her " Respected and dear friend, Mercy Green," dated Plymouth, 1st mo. 28th, 1853, giving a long and interesting account of this visit.

The noble lord was Ernest Augustus, third earl (1797-1861), and aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria. He married, in 1831, Caroline Augusta, eldest daughter of Rear-Admiral and Lady Elizabeth Theresa Feilding.

The letter of H. C. Price is as follows (original in **D**) :

> Thou wilt I think be some what surprised to receive another letter from me so quickly following my last, but having yesterday accompanied my beloved friend in paying so remarkable a visit, I cannot help wishing that thou shouldst be made a partaker in that which has been so perculiarly interesting, and instructive to all, I think I may say, who have in any way been connected with it.
>
> Very soon after our arrival at Plymouth thy beloved daughter felt her mind strongly attracted to visit the Earl of Mt. Edgcombe, whose very beautiful seat lies across the water, nearly opposite to Plymouth. This attraction she did not mention to anyone until after the public meeting on first day evening, but it was remarkable that during our sojourn in this place we have heard in a casual way many interesting particulars of the Earl, who, it appeared, was a great invalid. After Meeting, my beloved friend requested a few friends to remain, when she told them of the burden which had long rested on her mind. After some little consultation, it was agreed that a note should be sent direct to the Earl. The following reply was received :
>
> " Lord Mount Edgcumbe is unable to write, but dictates this reply to Charles Prideaux. For three or four months he has not felt himself equal to receive any one into his bedroom, but members of his own family ; he feels however extremely unwilling to refuse the kindly and flattering proposition of

Priscilla Green: if therefore the wish expressed continues, and if she will think it worth while to come to Mount Edgcumbe at ½ past 1 or two o'clock on Thursday, Lady M^t^ Edgcumbe will be happy to receive her and communicate to Lord M^t^ Edgcumbe her wishes, or conduct her to his room if at the time he feels in a fit state to receive her.

"Mount Edgcumbe, Tuesday, January 25th, 1853."[2]

Yesterday this important visit was paid. After attending the interment of an aged friend, Mary Fox, a carriage took us to the water's edge. We were accompanied by Charles Hinton an agreeable friend of this place. It was a beautiful day, and the water so calm, that under some circumstances we might have much enjoyed the excursion, notwithstanding the cold. On the opposite side we had a considerable walk before we arrived at the Mansion, the door of which was quickly opened to us and we saw that we were expected. The servant conducted us thro' several grand apartments, at length opening the folding-doors of an elegant sitting-room, which we found vacant. After sitting a considerable time, the Countess made her appearance; she appeared very kind and affable, asked us to take luncheon, which of course we declined; she then requested my dear friend to inform her what was the object of her visit, and she would convey any message to the Earl. Thy dear dear daughter then told her a little of the practices of friends and also of her own feelings. She then left the room to go to the Earl; Ch^s^ Hinton followed her and explained still further *who we were* and how it was we were in Plymouth; this explanation was, I believe, quite acceptable, for a message came from the Earl to Charles Hinton requesting to see him first.

After waiting for more than an hour (the doctors four in number being with the Earl), a part of the time alone, and a part with the Countess, who was very kind and showed us her Conservatory, we were at length summoned to the Earl's room, the Countess

[2] The original letter (in **D**) is addressed: "Charles Prideaux, 18 Frankfort Street, Plymouth," and sealed with the Mount Edgcumbe arms and crest.

conducting us. It was comparatively quite a small room, a French bed in the middle on which lay the poor stricken Earl, we believe about sixty years of age [56], but looking much older in consequence of his long affliction. He is unable to move a limb, and requires four men to move him in a kind of sling. His grey hair and long beard gave him a very striking appearance, and altogether it was a very touching scene. He requested dear P.G. to sit so as he could see her, as he could not move his head. The Countess at first stood, but afterwards went into the adjoining room, and *fetched herself* a chair. We all sat down near his bedside, and the quietness was truly remarkable. After a short time of silence thy beloved daughter spoke most sweetly and instructively, and although I do not expect he heard any truth that was new to him, I think it must have come to him in an unexpected manner. Afterwards, when she had in a touching manner supplicated for him and his family, and rose from her knees, in a feeling manner he said *Amen.*

When we rose to go he said: "I thank you for this visit, I had fear a polemical discussion might be intended, as I told M^r^ Hinton, but I find it was nothing of the kind; I agreed to every word you have expressed and I thank you excessively for your visit." The Countess took us kindly by the hand; she seemed also to feel much. The poor Earl would I believe, have gladly shaken hands but he was unable; his countenance bad us a kindly and a feeling farewell.

We soon walked back to our boat and reached home about five o'clock. To myself it has been a truly instructive event and I am inclined to think it has been so in no common degree to many. At the first mention of the concern it appeared to some of the weak ones, amongst whom I number myself *first,* not a little formidable, and we have been led to *smile* at poor Joshua Treffry, who seemed quite knocked down with it, and having nearly ever since been confined to his house. We were ready to think that this affair was too much for him, but now he will hear how sweetly we were prospered, and *that* in every step of the way it may be encouraging to him, as I trust it will be

to me to be more trustful in future as well as more believing.

It is not surprising that dear P.G. should be feeling the effects of the exertion, and I think also the cold has tended to increase a cold which has been hanging about her for some time, and she is sweetly submitting to be nursed to-day, and perhaps we may find it needful to remain here until second day. . .

Thy truly affectionate f^d^., H. C. PRICE.

Upon a slip of paper in the autograph of P. Green's friend, Edward Pease, of Darlington, "Father of Railways," he wrote: "Cousin Eliza Barclay tells me [that] the Earl and Countess of M^t^ Edgecumbe were on board the Bulldog [Man of War] when her sister [in-law] Anna [wife of John] Church Backhouse [of Darlington, the only daughter of Joseph John Gurney of Earlham Hall] died [in 1848, aged 27]. *Abridged from an article written by J. J. Green, 13 July, 1920.*

Thones Kunders (Dennis Conrad)

Elsewhere in this issue (pages 59 and 69) there are notices of Thones Kunders and his famous descendant, Sir Samuel Cunard. The following pedigree, taken from *Thones Kunders and his Children*, by Hon. Henry C. Conrad, Wilmington, Del., 1871, has been sent by Charles F. Jenkins, who has interested himself, unsuccessfully, to obtain a copy of this valuable book for **D.**

Thones Kunders was one of the thirteen original settlers from Crefeld, Germany, who followed Francis Daniel Pastorius and in 1683 settled Germantown, Pa. The first Friends' meeting was held in his home, one of the walls of which is still standing.

See *Guide Book to Historic Germantown*, p. 40.

Tones Kunders

Henry Cunreds married Katherine Streypers, daughter of William Streypers, one of the original settlers.

Samuel Cunard married, first————, second Suzannah Foulke.

Abraham Cunard removed to Nova Scotia 1780, married there is 1783.

Sir Samuel Cunard, founder of the Cunard Line, died in London 4-28-1865.

Joseph Sams, Schoolmaster, Bookseller and Virtuoso

THERE are numerous notices scattered about in Quaker and regional literature respecting this extraordinary man, but I do not know where, save in *D.N.B.*, any connected account of his life can be found. A request for information appeared in *Quakeriana*, vol. 3 (1896), p. 43, but this publication came to an end before any reply could be printed. It seems well to collect and connect these scattered fragments and make an attempt to reconstruct a brief life history from them.

Joseph Sams, son of Joseph and Esther Sams, of Wellington, Somerset, was born in 1784. He was an Ackworth scholar, 1794 to 1798. From 1804 to 1810 he was a reading and writing master at the school. During this period, he married, in 1807, Mary, daughter of James and Sarah Brady, of Doncaster (1787-1834). Thomas Firth (d. 1879), of Huddersfield, relating, towards the close of his life, his experiences at Ackworth in 1809 and 1810, describes Joseph Sams as a "fine old English gentleman—wore a three-cornered looped hat—called a three-decker[1]—buckles to his knee breeches, and also to his shoes," giving dignity, no doubt, to his appearance (*Hist. of Ackworth School*, 1879, p. 116).

On leaving Ackworth in 1810, J. Sams was appointed the first master of a school established by the Society of Friends in Darlington, later resigning this position and opening a school of his own. Details of his school announcements are given in *Past and Present, a Journal for Scholars of Friends' Schools*, 1903, p. 7. One, dated 1810, refers to "airy and agreeable premises," and states: "Care will be taken to guard against the use of provincialisms or other improprieties . . . in conversation," and "Suitable amusements . . will be a means of inducing the children to

[1] There is in **D** a wooden case for a three cornered hat but, alas, no hat within.

return to their learning, at the appointed seasons, with redoubled alacrity." In 1819 it is stated that, with improved premises, "it is apprehended that the denomination of Parlour-boarders might now be suitably adopted by all."

Henry Spencer, the author of *Men that have gone from the Households of Darlington*, 1862, wrote of his "respected preceptor:"

> Our venerated master possessed in happy combination all the essential qualifications for an efficient teacher of youth. He was gifted with a great intellect, he had amassed a vast and varied store of learning; he was versed in the art of communicating precisely the kind and amount of instruction which any particular pupil required. . . . He was sometimes angry, often grieved, but never vexed.

And more of warm approbation with mention of several noted pupils (pp. 135-145).

I am not aware of the circumstances which led to the decision of Sams to open a school on his own account. "For reasons which we are unable to state, he resigned this post and commenced an academy on his own account" (Spencer, *op. cit.*), but from several statements in the "Journal of William Robson" (ms. in **D**), which covers the period January, 1817 to May, 1818, it appears that there was some disagreement between him and the Friends of Darlington, his conduct not being satisfactory to them:

> 5 mo. 1. 1817. Heard that Fredk. Smith and his family have concluded to come to reside at Darlington with the intention of opening a school there, to the no small dissatisfaction of Joseph Sams, as well as several of his own friends.
>
> 2 mo. 22. 1818. Cousin Mary Sams,[2] accompanied by her husband, came to my father's to see my mother. When sister Rachel went into the parlour to desire Cousin M. Sams to walk upstairs, cousin Joseph asked if it would be convenient to accompany her. [This was not approved.] Joseph said that he did not wish to stay more than 2 or 3 minutes and was about to follow his wife (it is very evident that he was afraid he would be the subject of conversation upstairs if he did not accompany his wife, and that he would not have come down without her), but Father told him rather sharply that it really would not do, so that Father & Joseph were left together in the parlour: Having the curiosity to hear the conversation I listened at the door. . . . My father asked him the reason why he so seldom permitted his Wife to come and see my Mother—a near relative. Father then called him to account respecting his preaching and told him how exceedingly trying it was to Friends to be so disturbed in their meetings for worship and that if he did not

[2] Mary Sams has been described as one of the "sweet and lovely of the earth."

desist from so doing he (my Father) should be under the necessity of taking steps to prevent him. . . . Poor Joseph had little to say in vindication of his conduct. . . . Finding that my Father had cleared his mind of what he had to say, I entered the room and put a stop to the conversation.

Joseph Sams closed his seminary at the Midsummer of 1824, but, prior to this, his interests and energies were with archæology rather than pedagogy. William Robson writes :

8 mo. 13. 1817. Joseph Sams arrived in Darlington last 5th day morning from his travels on the continent. . . . He did not visit Rome having penetrated Italy only as far as Venice.

From school-keeping Sams turned to book-selling. In 1831 he established himself in Prebend Row, Darlington, but continued his travels. Spencer, quoting Longstaff in his *History of Darlington*, states :

He visited not only the chief countries and cities of Europe but travelled extensively in Eastern climes, as Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, etc. . . . He took advantage of these journeys for the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and carried with him for that purpose copies of the Bible Society's translation into Arabic. At Alexandria he was presented to Mahommed Ali by the English Consul General, from whom he wrung a reluctant consent to offer for the acceptance of the Pasha, a beautifully bound copy of the Scriptures,

which gift was accepted. In a notice of J. Sams in the first issue of the *Herald of Truth*, edited by Benjamin Wood, dated, "Liverpool, Eleventh month 1st, 1828," p. 15, it is stated that J. Sams had then been travelling two-and-a-half years.

As a result of these journeys he became a dealer in antiquities, and took business premises at 56, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn, London. In 1822-6 he brought out *A Descriptive Catalogue of a valuable Collection of Books in various languages and almost every branch of Science and Literature*, etc., in three parts (copy in **D**), which contains 8,071 entries, interspersed with woodcuts by Bewick. Copies of this *Catalogue* were presented to Thomas Thompson, of Liverpool and Thomas Mounsey, of Sunderland (original letters in **D**). The former, in 1824, had commissioned J. Sams to obtain some information for him when in France.

There is a curious and by no means favourable notice of Sams in a review of *The Book Hunter in London*, which appeared in *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, viii., 499 (quoted in *Quakeriana*, vol. 3 (1896), p. 43) :

We wonder if the author, W. Roberts, knows the name of old Sams, the Quaker bookseller and miser, the most plausible old hypocrite and unmitigated old rogue that ever existed, whose skill in vamping up and doctoring a Cawood into a Pynson has been feebly imitated by our degenerate moderns, and at one time threatened to deluge the market with spurious editions. We have had rogues as unprincipled as Sams among those even whom Mr. Roberts essays to immortalize, but none so clever as he.

Another side of Joseph Sams's character is presented to us in John H. Bell's book on *British Folks and British India Fifty Years Ago*, 1892 :

The erudite Joseph Sams, the Egyptologist, was also a keen pro-Indian of Darlington, and, by-and-bye, an enthusiastic adherent of the movement in London and elsewhere. . . . (p. 40).

He was present at the great Anti-slavery Convention in the Freemasons' Hall, London, in 1840, and took part, with Joseph Pease, Senr., John Cropper and others, in one of the discussions—" ever zealous, ever practical, though in his old Quaker manner, somewhat odd and even grotesque " (*ibid.* p. 106). He also attended the second World's Anti-slavery Conference in 1843.

Joseph Sams purchased the premises at the corner of Prebend Row and Priestgate, and later sold them to my father, Harrison Penney. Joseph Sams died 18th March, 1860. I have heard my father say that close search was made of the premises after his death in the expectation of finding money hidden away, but the search resulted in disappointment. It has been stated (*D.N.B.*) that Sams used to secret his money in a screw ferrule at the end of a walking stick.

Joseph and Mary Sams had seven children. Four daughters and one son died, probably of consumption, within a few months of one another in 1831-2 ; two survived, Sophia Elizabeth (1823-1897, married her cousin, Joseph Sams (1808-1862), of Thornbury, Gloucestershire, and Frederic (1826-). Spencer, *op. cit.* p. 145, states that Frederic " made his home in Australia." In the account of his sister, Sophia, in *The Annual Monitor*, 1898, it is stated that Frederic succumbed to the same complaint as his brother and sisters a few years later. He was certainly living in England in 1843, as his name appears among those Friends who signed the certificate which liberated John Pease for religious service in North America (copy in **D**).

NORMAN PENNEY.

A few Remarks on the Society of Friends in St. Austell, Cornwall

THE first record we have of Friends begins at Tregongeeves about one-and-a-half miles from St. Austell. It was the residence of Loveday Hambly, who was Aunt to Thomas Lower who married Judge Fell's daughter Mary. He had a brother, Dr. Richard Lower, known to fame not only as Court Physician in the reign of Charles II, but as a medical writer of high standing; he used his influence with some lords of the Royal Society to procure Margaret Fell's release from prison. The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe gave him a piece of a field on the Tregongeeves estate for Friends to use for a graveyard, which for some time was the only one in the county and was used by people from Falmouth and Wadebridge, etc.

The Lowers belonged to an ancient family of Cornwall, where they had a handsome estate about four-and-a-half miles from St. Austell, and about one mile from Grampound. When George Fox was imprisoned in Launceston Jail, Thomas Lower was residing with his Aunt, Loveday Hambly, at Tregongeeves. Hearing, no doubt, of his extraordinary character, he and his aunt paid a visit to the imprisoned reformer, and the conversation that ensued so reached both their hearts, that they left the prison thoroughly convinced of the truth of the doctrines preached by Fox. Thomas Lower compared the force and clearness of the conviction that shot through his soul to a flash of lightning. This was in the year 1656, when he was about twenty-four years of age. Near the close of the same year, he attended a general meeting of the Friends of Cornwall and Devon held at Exeter. George Fox was present, and describes it as a "blessed heavenly meeting, in which the Lord's everlasting power came over all."

The graveyard at Tregongeeves was filled, we suppose, because, when the turnpike road was being improved,

the top of the hill was taken off and the earth was thrown into the graveyard, and filled it up six feet deep, so that we are using the ground again. Some fifty years ago a grave was dug in the top layer of earth, when they came down to a grave stone lying flat with the name Daniel Eliott, Falmouth, 1711.[1] This was taken up and put into the wall as near to the grave as they could put it. Joshua Treffry was at the later funeral, and spoke from the words, "It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment." He was interested to read afterwards in the journal of a Ministering Friend in the early times of the Society that this Minister had attended the funeral of Daniel Eliott and had spoken from the same text!

The first meetings in the county were held in Loveday Hambly's kitchen, where a Monthly Meeting for the county was held; then a small house was taken at the lower part of the town; when that grew too small, a larger one was used, about a mile up the hill on the other side of the town; when that became dilapidated, a piece of ground was purchased on the opposite side of the road and the present substantial meeting-house built in 1829.

In the early times the Vicar's daughter joined the Society which greatly grieved her father, so that he put her in the church porch with her feet in the stocks as the people were going to church.

At one time there were about sixty members at a village, four miles from St. Austell, Nanpean and St. Stephens but they fell away from want of care, and there is no trace of them left.

About sixty years ago there was a farmer belonging to St. Austell Meeting who had about half-a-dozen daughters. They were interesting girls, but there were not husbands for them in the Society; they were very loyal members and refused to marry any of the young men around them unless they would join Friends. One young man wanted one of them. He was a miner at Liskeard and applied for membership there, but a mine-owner there objected to him. He had been in his employment and he did not think him a suitable member for a Christian Church, so the young man told the young lady there was a "Friend at Liskeard

[1] Daniel Eliott, of Austle, was buried 1711. 6. 27—Cornwall Register.

who was like Ne-buch-chad-na-zer, whom he would he set up and whom he would he put down." Then they applied for membership at St. Austell and the meeting there wishing to help them received the young man, and he forthwith dressed in a coat without a collar and addressed single people as thou instead of you. The union passed pleasantly during the young wife's life; they had a son and daughter, who were very successful. Then the mother died and the young people went to America, leaving the father to himself; he soon drifted downwards and frequented the public-house, boasting that his coat could never go to the work-house. But he grew so bad he lost his membership, and in his old age had to go into the workhouse. I remember him coming in his workhouse clothes to meeting. One day, when Joshua Treffry had not given an address, he went to him outside and said: "Joshua, give me sixpence." Joshua said: "No, William, I will not give thee sixpence." He said: "No wonder thou'rt shut up in meeting," a taunt which he knew would be very cutting to the sensitive mind of the Minister.

Some years ago we had a Vicar in this parish who was strong in ceremonials. He heard that the rector of the neighbouring parish had a bell-ringer who was not baptized, so he called on him and admonished him. The rector said: "What about your own ringers; I know one of them who has never been baptized." The Vicar said he would see about that. He found the man and asked him if he was baptized. He said: "No!" Then he said: "You must not ring the church bell until you are baptized." The man said: "Can I get to Heaven without being baptized?" The Vicar said: "Not from this parish." The man said: "Well! what about James Veale and the Quakers?" The Vicar was quite in a fix, and said: "Well, God is very merciful and the Quakers are very few, perhaps He may let them in without."

The Veale family upheld Quakerism in the town all through the last century. They were a large family of ten children, eight sons and two daughters. The sons were employed as woolstaplers and manufacturers of blankets and cloth for great coats. They had a great influence in the neighbourhood for miles around, buying wool from the farmers and supplying small shops in the villages. Some of them had a

grocer's shop and were very successful. The older ones made moderate fortunes and built themselves houses outside the town, and let the younger ones have their turn.

The James Veale mentioned above was a grocer; he was a Minister, and soon made enough for himself and wife to live comfortably, then gave his time to visiting meetings in the county and holding meetings in chapels with George Cornish. He was greatly beloved by everyone who knew him. The chief theme in his ministry was the love and mercy of God. His visits to the sick, afflicted and aged were much appreciated. The brothers were very different one from the other, but each was occupied with his own spiritual gift and the result was a continuation of spiritual life through the century. The widow of the youngest brother died about four years ago, which brought the family to an end, as her only son was killed in a motor accident some years before and was not married. He was the only representative of the eight brothers.

ELIZABETH FARDON.

Swarthmoor Hall in 1772

The following reference to Swarthmoor is taken from a MS. account belonging to Mrs. Vere O'Brien (née Arnold-Forster), of a tour by William Forster (1747-1824), schoolmaster, of Tottenham, and others:

"4th day, 8th, 7 mo. About six this Morn: took a Walk with Fr[d] Chamly to see Swarthmore Hall, the late Residence of George Fox. It is in a fine situation. The House, which is a large Stone Building, with spacious rooms, wainscotted thro'out, large old Windows, is much come to Decay, as well as the Offices and the Gardens and many fine Walks, in a ruinous Condition, the many fine Pines which were in the Groves were fell'd, and the whole Estate, which was very considerable, much out of repair. It was then inhabited by Farmers, whose Poverty rather pleaded an Excuse for their Keeping it in a miserable Condition; there had been several fine Walks in the Garden & some Brooks of Water, but it now only forms an unpleasing appearance & occasion'd serious reflection on the difference a few years had made.[1]

[1] The descendants of Margaret Fox sold the Swarthmoor estate in 1759.

Commitments at Cambridge, 1660-61

PROF. COURTNEY KENNY, LL.D., of Downing College, Cambridge, has sent, per Albert J. Crosfield, the following extracts from Sir Thomas Sclater's notebooks, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford :

4th February, 1660 [1660/61].—" The Quakers committed to the gaol in Cambridge by Mr. Chapman Major, myself, Mr. Rose, Mr. Levin, from the Town Hall ; being a list sent me by the gaoler for refusing to take oath of obedience :—Joseph Cooke, taken up, and discharged by Mr. Major, Rob. Letchworth, Reuben Steven, Will. Allen, George Nash, Mathew Blackley, John Wright, Thos. Edmondson, Jo. Cranwell, Thomason Blackley the Alderman's wife ; Elizabeth Smith, Susan Croft, Helen Allen, Thomason Canham, Alex Aston, Joan Edmondson, Joan Yates, Judith Thomson, Ann Cocker, Suse Field, Ann Bone, Mary Woods, Joan Jobson, Mary Sparrow, Widdow Beton.

" The women are all discharged by Mr. Major ; but stay upon the payment of their fees, which they deny."

7th February, 1660.—" Thomas Clark, Quaker, committed to the Tolbooth by Rule, the constable, being taken with John Peace, a tailor, and about twenty women at a conventicle at the Quakers' house over against Sidney ; and brought by Corporal Hatley, Clark confest they were above one hour, seeking God there. Peace was prisoner at the Castle, and delivered to the undergaoler."

10th February, 1660.—" Joseph Cole, Quaker, committed to the Tolbooth by me and Mr. Ewin, for meeting that day in the conventicle over against Sidney, with 29 women. The women set free."

" We defer'd answering the sheet till some one espoused it ; not thinking it our duty to take notice of every ones Snarling or barking behind the Curtain."

SAMUEL FULLER (d. *circa* 1736), schoolmaster, of Dublin, to Josiah Forster, of Coventry, schoolmaster, 19 xi. 1729, referring to the adverse writings of Joseph Boyse (1660-1728), preacher in Dublin. Original letter in **D**, presented by Mrs. Vere O'Brien, of Ennis, Co. Clare.

In the minutes of Bridlington M.M., 4 iv. 1740, a certain woman is described as " of a imprudent and floating behaviour."

Hands Across the Sea

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CARLETONS IN IRELAND AND AMERICA, 1752 TO 1791.

By favour of Miss Margaret Ferrier Young, of Dublin, we are able to print, from typed copies of the originals, a series of letters which passed between Thomas Carleton (1699-1792), of Kennet, Chester Co., Pa., and some of his relatives in Ireland. We have not seen the originals.

It is interesting to notice that in addition to the Gospel messages carried to and fro across the Atlantic by visiting Ministers, these Friends were able to arouse and maintain interest by personal and epistolary communication, between families in the Old World and the New.

Thomas Carleton (1699-1792) was a son of Mark Carleton (1670-1711) and Susanna Watson, who left Mountmellick, in 1711, for Pennsylvania, crossing on the ship *Cofar*. Mark died on the voyage "of a bloody flux." Thomas Carleton married, in 1730, at Kennet, Pa., Hannah Roberts (1689-1758), widow of Robert Roberts, and daughter of William and Mary Howell, of Haverford, Pa. For Hannah Roberts, see *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 32, p. 388.

Thomas and Hannah were Ministers and the former was appointed Clerk of Newark M.M. in 1748, and was constantly occupied with the work of the Society, until, after many years' service, old age demanded relaxation and retirement. In 1788, Elisha Kirk reports the good old man "green in the Truth, though memory much failed" (Comly, *Friends' Miscellany*, vi. 63), and next year William Blakey visited him and refers to him as "an ancient Friend, my father's shipmate" (*ibid.* iv. 100). Both Friends were Pennsylvanians. Hugh Judge attended a meeting at his house in 1788—"the old man being unable to get out, Friends appointed a meeting at his house, to be held once a month" (*Memoirs*, 1841, p. 146). The letters reveal a man of deep religious feelings and one taking much interest in the welfare of his own family and of his kinsfolk across the sea.

We are indebted for information to *The Barringtons*, by Amy Barrington, 1917; *Bicentennial of Old Kennet*

Meeting House, 1911; *Immigration of Irish Quakers to Pennsylvania*, by A. C. Myers, 1902; Rancocas *John Woolman*, 1922; and many other books and pamphlets.

America

Philadelphia, Penn.
The 17th of the 3rd month,
1752.

My friend and cousin
Elizabeth Carleton.[1]

Being at Philadelphia at our general Spring meeting, went to our esteemed friend Elizabeth Hudson,[2] who was returned from paying you a religious visit, and in our little conversations she told me she had at times much converse with thee, with whom she signified, there was an intimate nearness of friendship begotten, which account was very pleasing and satisfactory to me. Now, dear cousin, having this opportunity (which I heard of but this afternoon) was willing to use it to let thee and thy dear Mother know, that when I left home four days ago, my family was well, hoping these lines may find you in the same enjoyment, and it would be very pleasing to me to hear from thee, thy sister,[3] or Mother,[1] by a line, of your health, and how many children my Uncle Joshua left, and where settled, and also of my Uncle Caleb's family, and Aunt Deborah Chandlee's[10] Children, as either of you have an opportunity.

And if ye Almighty favour with health and ability? I hope to be more particular concerning my father's children in America, that we may hear from one another sometimes, and not seem any longer as strangers one to another, for it is always pleasing for me to hear of my relations and kindred's welfare, and much more so to hear of their walking in the truth and that thee and you all, with my poor self, may be careful to walk therein, is the desire of thy friend and cousin,

THOMAS CARLETON.

Friend Hudson desired when I wrote to thee, to signify her love and respects to thee. If either of you incline to write, please to direct for Thomas Carleton, Living at Kennett, to be left with Michael Lightfoot in Philadelphia.

Ireland

Dublin,
27th of 4th month,
1752.

Dear cousin,

Thomas Carleton.

I received thy acceptable lines and was glad to hear of thine and family's welfare, and well pleased thou has begun to correspond with us, that we may become a little acquainted as we are so nearly related by blood, and not only so, but I hope we are in the nearest relationship, as children of the one Father, who are desiring to please him in all our actions, words and thoughts, and if so, I believe we shall have true unity in spirit one with another, though we are far separated in body ; that we may come to this happy situation, is the fervent desire of my soul for us all.

Our dear friend William Brown[4] informed us of his acquaintance with thee, and I thought over and over of writing thee a few lines by him, but as thy letter came in the interim, intend to send this sooner ; he has almost completed his journey through this Nation to the comfort of sensible friends, and I hope peace of his mind. His companion who (I suppose) left home with him, F. [J.] Churchman[4], is expected here daily, and there is landed here a few days ago a worthy friend from England, Samuel Spavold.[5] May we, who are thus highly favoured live so as in some degree to merit it.

I am glad to hear of the welfare of my dear friend, E. Hudson, we have had some account of her being married, should be glad to know by thee, the truth of it, and to whom. Please to give my Mother's, sister's, and my dear love to her. . . .

By this thou may know that when my father died, he left my sister and me, and one brother[6] who lived but a short time after him. My sister has been much afflicted with illness, and is at present in a poor state of health. My Mother and I, through mercy, are pretty well. We three live together in my Grandfather's house,[7] were with him before he died (he being ancient) which was about a year ago. My uncle Caleb[8] left four children, three sons, one

daughter. His eldest son still unmarried, keeps a shop and had his sister to keep house for him, till a few months ago she died of a fever, being 28 years old, and a great loss to him. His younger brother, Johnathan, was with him. The second son, Samuel, is wed to a daughter of Paul Johnson's,[9] keeps a shop and has one son. Aunt Chandlee[10] left two daughters who are married to two brothers, Joseph and John Thompson and one son Thomas[38] who follows the chandlery business, lives in this city, is married and has two sons. Now having given thee a full account of what thou desirest, hope thou wilt be particular in telling of thy father's children. . . .

I much desire the prosperity of us all in the blessed truth, and that we may first seek the Kingdom of Heaven and the Righteousness thereof, and no doubt that all things necessary for us will be added.

With dear love to thee and family, thy loving friend and cousin,

ELIZ. CARLETON.

America

Kennett in Chester County,
Pennsylvania,
8th of 11th month,
1752.

My dear Cousin, Elizabeth Carleton.

I have been at our yearly meeting at Burlington, on my return home was presented with thy acceptable lines, and can truly say they were very welcome to me, being pleased to hear of your welfare, except Cousin Deborah, who I understand by thee is but poorly of late, but I hope better by this time. Yet, dear Cousin, let us all submit to ye will of our Heavenly Father and learn to be rightly acquainted with his Fear, and then whether riches or poverty, sickness or health, or what circumstances of life soever He may suffer us to fall into, we shall certainly have Him to be our Friend that will be nearer to us than a brother, for where His fear takes place in the Heart, the Lust of ye flesh, the lust of ye eye, or ye Pride of Life, can have no room but must be subdued. . . .

I don't write thus, as tho' thee, thy Mother, and sister were not acquainted with this Holy Fear of God, but by way of encouragement, that as I hope you have begun well, so you may hold out to the end, for we understand 'tis the end crowns all, and that you, with us, and we with you, may so run that in the end we may receive a Crown of Righteousness.

This also may inform you that my family are at this time favoured with health, as are all my brothers and sisters for what I know, being all eleven in number (viz) one brother and four sisters of my own, being the children my mother had by my father, and four sons and one daughter she had by Father Parke, her second husband who died about 20 years ago.[11] My Mother married again, lived with her third husband[11] near 10 years and died seven years ago. My eldest sister Elizabeth with her husband and family (they having 7 children when they left these parts) are removed to North Carolina, a country that is settling pretty fast, where they say land is cheap. I had a letter from her last spring, they were then well. My second sister, Sarah, lives in Philadelphia, never has married. But I think behaves well. My brother John lives about 30 miles from me, I hear has lately married. My sisters Mary and Phoebe both married and have several children, I believe eight or ten each, and myself have been married 22 years and have two children named Susanna[35] and Thomas,[34] both grown up but neither of them married.

I suppose thou hast heard that my father died at sea, on his voyage to this country about 41 years ago, and left my mother and us six children who arrived in a strange land, knew not one face therein, but He that was the preserver of Joseph, when in a strange land, has been so to some of us in preserving of us in some degree near unto Himself, for which He is worthy of our praise forever.

I saw friend Elizabeth Hudson (that was) at our yearly Meeting was then well. She inquired if I had an account from thee. I had not then received thy letter. . . . She was married the latter end of fourth or beginning of fifth month last, to our Friend Anthony Morris. Lives in Philadelphia. I hope is well married. . . .

Thus, dear Cousin, I think I have answered thy request concerning My Father's Children, and I must now conclude

with desires that we may all more and more learn the fear of God, for it is this only that keeps the heart clean. . . .

My love, thy assured friend and cousin,

THOMAS CARLETON.

[This letter is re-addressed to Richard Shackleton's care, Ballitore, near Kilcullen-bridge.]

Kennet,

19th of the 6th month, 1763.

Loving Cousin, Elizabeth Shackleton.

Having this opportunity by a young man going to Dublin, make use of it, to renew our former little acquaintance by such paper messengers as to inform thee of my health, which, through mercy, is continued to me now in my decline of life, having seen upwards of sixty-three years. . . . My beloved companion left me upwards of five years ago, and my children (being two) and I live mostly together, my lot being often cast abroad among Friends, as I apprehend, in my great Master's service.

'Tis likely you in that nation may be visited soon by two men friends from our country, William Horn[12] and Thomas Goodwin,[13] whose labour in the ministry will be, I doubt not, acceptable to the sincere honest-hearted among you. If thou seest them, mind my love to them; please to let them know their families were well last week, being the time of Concord Quarterly Meeting at which I was. . . . I have two children, a daughter and a son. My son married has four children. . . .

I should be pleased with a line from thee. I understand thou art married, and by all acounts it is to an agreeable companion.[14] Where that is the case, and both concerned as true Yokefellows for the Honour and Reputation of Truth, they will have the assurance of solid peace, in ye end, and tho' sometimes they may meet with afflicting and distressing occurrences, my desires are that Ye Great Preserving Hand may be ever near to support His faithful persevering children, in ye various exercises they may have to engage in.

From thy affectionate friend and kinsman, tho' unknown by face,

THOMAS CARLETON.

My respects to Susanna Hatton[15] when sees her.

Kennett in Chester County,
ye 26, 11th month, 1764.

Dear Cousin [Elizabeth Shackleton].

I received the acceptable letters from thee, one dated the 11th month, 1763, and the other the 4th month last, which were both very welcome to me, they giving an account of thine and family health, except the loss of thy beloved son, who thou mention was called after thy grandfather George Rooke.[16] . . . Thou signified I might have heard of thy grandfather, by this know, I have seen him and I think heard him in the ministry when I was young, and am secretly thankful at times there is some of the old stock that bears the right mark of Christ's sheep, and are desirous to be of his flock and family. May they keep their ranks in righteousness and walk in humility before Him. . . .

May likewise know, that our friends Thomas Lightfoot and his wife Susanna[15] landed at Philadelphia at ye time of our Yearly Meeting in ye 9th month last, I saw them the day after they landed, and also at Quarterly Meeting this day two weeks. . . .

I was at West River yearly meeting for Maryland, this summer and on my way at a friend's house saw a young woman, who said she was the daughter of Thomas Fennell, brother to Joshua Fennell of Kilcomman in County Tipperary. Being in Cork, she took ship for Patapsco in Maryland, and had like to have been sent into the country among the Planters, but friends bought her time, I think for 4 years.[17] In conversation with her she informed me the circumstances she was under and thought her friends knew not where she was, and at last consented I should inform them, which I hope thou wilt be assistant in. I think her name is Deborah Fennell, and if she behaves well, she is in a very good place. . . .

With kind and sincere affection to thee and love to thy husband tho' unknown.

I remain thy cousin and kinsman,

THOMAS CARLETON.

Deborah Fennell lived with one William Moore, in Baltimore town, near Patapasco River in Maryland.

Kennett in Chester County,
Pennsylvania.
23 4*th mo.* 1768.

Dear Friend and Kinsman, Thomas Carleton.[18]

By this ye may know I received thy letter dated ye 8mo last which was considerable satisfaction to me and the more so that it bears the name of one of the old stock of Friends, who thought nothing too near or too dear to sacrifice on the altar of Self denial, in order to win the prize to their never dying souls, which I hope dear Cousin is thy particular care, and as thou may have an increasing family as thou art thus concerned, thou wilt prove an example of piety and virtue to them, that they with thee may be meek and modest and have an eye to the recompense of reward when time here may terminate with us.

As to the circumstances of my family, when about thirty years of age I married an honest friend, we had two children, a daughter and a son who both married. I, at present live with my son, he having my plantation on rent of me. Thus near ten years since my beloved companion and I were parted by death, having lived together near twenty eight years, in a good degree of gospel fellowship, and I doubt not but my loss is her lasting gain. . . . I am now in my 69th year of my age, yet may say, through the Mercy of My heavenly Father, having my health as well as most of my years, which I many times am secretly thankful for them.

May also inform you that this comes by a friend[19] who proposes a religious visit to thy Nation, and when thee sees him he can inform thee something concerning me, being intimately acquainted with him. He is, I think a true hearted friend, and I doubt not that his Service will be acceptable to the upright hearted in your Nation. My desires to the Almighty are, that he may be preserved through the service required of him, and that if it be the Divine Will he may return with the answer of peace to his Family and friends.

I seem not to have much more to write, and only signify that Susanna Lightfoot and her husband desired to have their love remembered to thee. Accept of a large share thereof, both to thy Father and Spouse tho' unknown.

I am thy affectionate friend and kinsman,
THOMAS CARLETON.

P.S. My family and relations here are in a good degree of health for what I know at present, my relations and I living remote from each other in this Country. My son,[34] of the same name with thou and I, has five children, two sons, Mark and Samuel, and three daughters, Hannah, Dinah and Martha. My daughter[35] married about two years ago and has no child living. I hope she will prove a serviceable woman, there is great need of such in this day, when sin and iniquity so much abound, and love to ye Truth was cold even among the professors thereof.

Your assured friend T.C.

Ireland

Ballitore,
13 *of* 3*d mo,* 1769.

Dear Friend and Cousin,
Thomas Carleton.

I received thy very acceptable letter by an ancient worthy Friend, Thomas Goodwin, whose company we had the favour of enjoying more of than, of some other friends, as my father-in-law was his companion for some time. It was a goodly sight to see two such venerable ancients, travelling in so good a service. Thomas had the esteem (I believe) of sensible friends through the Nation, and I hope his labour of love will not be all in vain, his doctrine was sound and his conduct very exemplary and pleasing. . . .

I am thankful that I have been brought into thy remembrance, and desire it may continue to be so, for, dear cousin, many are the troubles and various the dispensations to be met with in this land of uncertainties and the state of the unthinking part of our Society, not the least painful. . . . I hope some of the youth of this land, who have been renewedly visited of late years, will give up wholly to be formed according to the will of the great Potter, and there may be useful vessels raised up amongst us fit for his house. This prospect is pleasant, and in order that such a work may not be frustrated it seems necessary to some further advanced in age, to walk wisely before them.

I thought this little account would be pleasing to thee, as thou wishes the prosperity of Zion, and that her excellency

may become the praise of the whole earth, but the poor travellers, who have been amongst us find hard work in many places, notwithstanding some seem willing to join the offers of love, for great are the numbers who remain in a state of too great insensibility and deafness, tho' powerfully called. We have had several acceptable visits of that kind of late years, the last was our worthy friend Thomas Gawthorp,[20] and we hear two women friends are shortly expected from England ;[21] which some of us think a favour meriting thankfulness. I am glad to hear thy health is continued, and that thou art agreeably situated as to thy dwelling, and think it much better when that is the case, than for a single person to keep house, as thou mayest be more at liberty to do the remaining part of thy day's work, which I sincerely desire may be done, so that thou may have to say with the faithful servant of old, " I have fought the good fight I have finished my course," etc. . . .

My dear Mother died two years ago, she was I suppose in the 79th year of her age, and I hope after many trials, was fitted for her change. My husband's first wife's mother[22] died some weeks before, and near two years ago an ancient aunt of his, and one year ago his Mother,[23] each of them about 80 years of age. We hope their days work was done. . . . I have two weakly little girls of my own.[24] We have three hopeful children pretty well grown, of my husband's. My truly affectionate husband and help meet in the best sense, who has been more like an own son and brother to my mother and sister, desires to have his dear love given to thee. . . .

Thy affectionate friend and cousin

ELIZABETH SHACKLETON.

P.S. I desire to know if thou knows Mary Eddy wife to James Eddy[25] from Ireland, thou mayst give my kind love to her and let her know I would be glad to hear from her, or of her welfare.

America

Kennett,

ye 19th of 6mo 1772.

Dear Friend and Cousin, Elizabeth Shackleton.

I think the last letter I received from thee came by friend Thos. Goodwin, which I was much pleased with.

I expect this to go by our worthy friend Samuel Neale,[26] who I suppose has nearly gone through what seemed before him on our Continent. His service has been well received by faithful friends, though I have not much of his company, yet I may say my spirit was nearly united to him when our lots have happened together at Meeting. My situation is much as thou hast had an account of. My daughter[27] is married to an agreeable Husband, and they live several miles from me. . . . I live with my son, who allows me an interest to live upon, out of my estate, which I think to keep in my hands as long as I have need of it. I buried my second sister named Sarah, in ye 1st mo 1771. She had lived most of her time in Philadelphia.

Mary Eddy's husband, James Eddy, died 18 months ago, and she, with some of her children, follows the business he did. I saw her when last in Philadelphia. She seems as cheerful, I believe as she can be under the stripping, trying dispensation. I hope she will be preserved to the end in a state of true watchfulness, no state safer for poor mortals. . . . I expect before this time Robert Willis[28] and Wm. Hunt[29] have been on a visit to your Nation, and three other friends left us lately on the same account, viz., Sarah Morris,[30] John Woolman,[31] Samuel Emlin,[32] whose service amongst faithful upright-hearted friends, I doubt not will be acceptable tho' some may think there may appear something of singularity[33] in some of them, yett wisdom is justified of her children.

From thy friend and Kinsman
THOMAS CARLETON.

[The next letter, in rather shaky handwriting, is dated from Philadelphia the 2nd of the 6th month, 1775.]

Loving Friend and Cousin, Elizabeth Shackleton.

Being here at this time on a journey to Yearly Meeting held at Egg Harbour on the sea coast in New Jersey, and hearing of a opportunity to inform thee of my health and that I left my family well yesterday, hoping this may find thee and thine in the same enjoyment, which I take as a great mercy from our great benefactor. Dear cousin, this time is a time of close trial and deep exercise to the honest-hearted, our land, that was a land of peace, most of the time, since the

settlement thereof, there is now seeing little but the alarums of War in our border, and mostly through the Colonies in North America, and what makes it most afflicting is that too many of the proffessors of Truth among us joins with them in their military appearances, so that it looks to me there is a time of sifting coming on when the chaff will be separated from ye wheat.

I may also inform that my ancient friend and companion Thomas Goodwin who visited your Island a few years ago, departed this life some weeks since, in the 82nd year of his age. I believe in peace with God, and in unity with faithful friends. I was at his funeral, where there was a large meeting. I think to good satisfaction. My son and I still live together as formerly. He hath six children, viz., Hannah, Dinah, Martha, Mark, Samuel and Lydia Carleton.[34]

My daughter hath three children, viz., Hannah, Sarah and Mary Harlan.[35] Her husband, Michael Harlan, bears the name of an honest man among his neighbours. I mentioned above, a time of sifting coming on, which may be suffered by us, that the Church may be purged of its useless and fruitless members. . . .

I saw Susanna Lightfoot; she is well. Mary Eddy lives in this City, a widow. She bears a pretty reputable character amongst Friends, and would be glad to hear from thee.

With love to thy beloved companion,

Your affectionate cousin,

THOMAS CARLETON.

[This letter is addressed

To Elizabeth Shackleton,

at Ballitore

To the care of Samuel Neal

near Cork in Ireland.]

Ireland

Ballitore,

8th 9th mo 1775.

Dear Cousin, Thos. Carleton.

The receipt of thy kind letter of the 2nd of the 6mo. [1775] was very pleasing to us, as it informed of thy being able in such an advanced age to perform the duty of attending

General Meetings, for the worship and service of the Great Creator of Mankind. . . . I take it very kind of thee, to make us acquainted with thy children and their's, and in return I let thee know, that my husband and I live pretty much in the same way as when I wrote to thee before : too much in the hurries of life, having a very large family of boarders, but cannot well get out of it, till my husband's son, a fine well behaved young man, is settled, and can take the business upon him.[36] I believe I informed thee long since that my dear Mother was removed by death, and that my sister and some of our daughters live together. My husband's worthy father lived with her for some years, and also died with her. Now thy cousin Saml. Carleton[37] lodges with her, he being left alone without wife or child, and has been infirm at times.

Thy cousin Hannah Thompson[10] is left a widow. She has three daughters all well settled and intends to make her home with one and sometimes with another. Thy relative Thomas Chandlee[38] has lately broke up house, and with his eldest son has left the city of Dublin, and now lives with his youngest son, in a town about 30 miles in the country. He is an ancient man and has been infirm of late years.

Your affectionate and loving cousin,

ELIZABETH SHACKLETON.

Ballitore,
4th mo. 9th 1778.

Dear Friend and Cousin,
Thomas Carleton.

I received thy acceptable letter of the 19th of 6th month, 1772, which I suppose was sent by our Friend S. N., whose service I doubt not was acceptable in your land as it is at home, his doctrine being adorned with a life and conversation suitable.

It was pleasing to me and thy other relations here to find thou enjoyed a tolerable state of health of body considering thy age, and thy (which is much to be preferred) desire to be preserved in a watchful state to the end : this health of mind, is a great mercy and a good example to those who are younger, to see the aged lively and spirited in religion in advanced years, and an encouragement for those also, to press forward toward the prize of the high calling in

Christ. Our dear and worthy friends W. Hunt and companion,[39] visited this nation very acceptably to sensible friends, but thou hast heard before this, that William laid down his natural life, in England in the noble cause of Religion, as did another dear friend whom we had not the pleasure of seeing here.[31]

In a religious meeting in a Friend's family in this nation I heard William speak of his own death as it appeared after, in a remarkable manner. . . .

I believe it was since my last to thee that my Husband's honourable Father departed this life about 75 years of age, bright and lively to the last. The church has sustained a great loss in his removal, but I hope his loss will be in some measure made up in his son,[36] who is much grown up in the service of Truth, and some of his grandchildren whom we hope may be useful members of Society. . . .

Friends in America have no doubt heard of the loss the churches in general have had in the decease of that great and eminent instrument in the Lord's hands, Samuel Fothergill, to the sorrow of many to whom he was nearly united. But he, who gives life, has a just right to take it, when he pleases and who dare say " What doest Thou ? "

I desire when thou seest any of our dear Friends who are acquainted with us, thou wilt give our love to them, particularly to Susanna Lightfoot whose welfare we are glad to hear of, tho' I do not write to her. Writing is rather difficult to me now. I am so hurried about worldly affairs, but hope sometime if Providence please to be a little released.

I am glad to hear of thy Sister Sarah making such a good end, and of thy children's welfare.

I am thy loving friend and Cousin

ELIZABETH SHACKLETON.

To be concluded

NOTES

[1] Elizabeth Carleton (1726-1804) was a daughter of Joshua Carleton (1684-1736/7) and Rachel Rooke (1687-1766). Her American correspondent was her first cousin. She married Richard Shackleton, of Ballitore, in 1755. See The Shackleton Letters, in *Journal of County Kildare Archæ. Soc.*, Jan. 1918.

[2] Elizabeth Hudson (1721-1783) came from Philadelphia. She was in Ireland with Jane Hoskins in 1748 and in Scotland in 1749. In 1752 she married Anthony Morris, Junr., of Philadelphia.

[3] Deborah Carleton (1713-1778). In a letter from Richard Shackleton to his daughter Grubb, dated 27 vii. 1778, he writes :

" Our loss, to be sure, is great, in thy beloved aunt, Deborah Carleton, as she was both a sensible and sincere woman. She was watchful over our interests and over the interest and welfare of our children, with an anxious, tender, affectionate solicitude." (*R. and E. Shackleton*, 1849, p. 111.)

[4] William Brown (-1786), of Philadelphia, was in Europe several years from 1750. At a meeting in Ireland early in 1752, " Will[m] laid open the Hireling Priests and their corrupt practices, as Pride, Covetousness, and Oppression with great authority. . . ." (*Jnl.* x. 253.) In 1728, William Brown married Susanna Churchman (1701-1790) ; both were Ministers. In 1770, Samuel Neale met him in America and remarked that " he looked as well and almost as young, as when he was in Ireland." (*R. and E. Shackleton*, 1849, p. 65.)

John Churchman (1705-1775) accompanied William Brown and was no doubt the F. Churchman of this letter.

[5] For Samuel Spavold (*c.* 1708-1795), see *Jnl.* x. 129.

[6] Thomas Carleton (1720-1737) died of consumption.

[7] George Rooke (1652-1742) was a very prominent Friend in Ireland and England. He was born in Cumberland and joined Friends about 1672. " When not engaged in religious services, he was diligently employed at his trade." In 1686, he married, in Limerick, Joan Clark (d. 1737) and settled there. In 1693 they removed to Earl Street, Dublin. " From the time of his wife's death, his only daughter, Rachel Carleton, a widow, lived with him until his death on 7 December, 1742." (*The Barringtons*, p. 243, where there is a portrait of G. Rooke.) There are many references to this Friend in **D.**

The words " about a year ago " must be a mis-statement or mis-transcription.

[8] Caleb Carleton (1682-*ante* 1752).

[9] Paul Johnson (1682-1746) was a son of John and Sarah Johnson, of Chappel Izzard, near Dublin. He became a prominent Friend in Dublin. His grandfather, James Johnson, had immigrated from Lancashire. He married, in 1704, at Charleville, Co. Cork, Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas and Elizabeth Harris. There were twelve children, nine of whom died in childhood.

He visited America in 1731 being liberated by the " Mens Meeting held in Dublin, the 6th of the 2nd mo : 1731."

Information from Edith Webb, Dublin.

[10] Deborah Carleton (1677-1718), an elder sister of Joshua, married John Chandlee.

Of one of the sons-in-law, R. Shackleton wrote, 20 iv. 1774 :

" Last Second-day morning, our dear friend and Kinsman, Joseph Thompson, died in his bed, having been the night preceding (to all appearance) in good health and spirits. It is supposed that he died in his sleep, as his wife who lay with him, did not perceive it till she arose " (*R. and E. Shackleton*, 1849, p. 94).

[11] Mark Carleton's widow married Richard Parks in 1713 and John Fincher in 1735. She died *circa* 1745.

[12] William Horne (1714-1772), of Philadelphia and Darby, Pa., was of the Horne family of Sussex, England. He married Elizabeth Davis in 1737. He was a Minister for twenty-five years.

The Sharpless Family, 1887, p. 305; *My Ancestors*, by Norman Penney, 1920.

[13] Thomas Goodwin (1694-1775) was born in Wales and emigrated, with his parents, to Pennsylvania in 1708. He visited Europe in 1763 and again in 1768-9.

[14] This was Richard Shackleton (1726-1792), the son of Abraham Shackleton (1697-1771), founder, in 1726, of the celebrated school at Ballitore, Co. Kildare. Elizabeth Carleton married him, as his second wife, in 1755, and took charge of his three children, and, after the death of her father-in-law, shared with her husband the care of the school, until his son, Abraham (1752-1818), took it over and liberated R. and E. Shackleton to visit Friends in their various Meetings.

Love-letters of R. S. and E. C. are printed in "The Shackleton Letters" (*Jnl. Co. Kildare Archæ. Soc.*, Jan. 1918), with comment by Margaret Ferrier Young, of Dublin.

Memoirs and Letters of R. and E. Shackleton, 1822 and 1849.

R. Shackleton's first wife was Elizabeth Fuller, d. 1754.

[15] Susannah Hudson, afterwards Hatton and Lightfoot (1719/20-1781), visited America as Hudson in 1737 and as Hatton in 1760. In 1763 she married Thomas Lightfoot, who had met her in America and had come over to propose to her (Leadbeater, *Biog. Notices of Friends in Ireland*, 1823) and about a year later she embarked with her husband and family in order to settle in Pennsylvania (*Piety Promoted*).

T. Lightfoot died in 1793 (*Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 1889).

[16] George Rooke Shackleton, born 1761, died 11 March, 1764.

[17] She was an indentured servant or "redemptioner"—"it was a frequent occurrence for poor emigrants to sell themselves into temporary serviture, usually for a term of four years, in order to defray the cost of their transportation to Pennsylvania. . . . Many Friends, particularly from Ireland, arrived in this manner" (Myers, *Immigration of Irish Quakers into Pa.*, p. 99, quoted, with other illustrative matter, in *Jnl.* vii. 142).

[18] Thomas Carleton (d. *c.* 1768). Probably the only son of Samuel Carleton (note 37). He married early in 1767, and died in about a year's time. See *R. and E. Shackleton*, 1849, pp. 41ff.

[19] This was, probably, Thomas Goodwin (see note 13). He was in Ireland in 1768 (*Jnl.* xv. 18).

[20] For an account of Thomas Gawthrop (1709-1780), of Kendal, see *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1903; Rancocas *John Woolman*, 1922, p. 577.

[21] According to a "Record of Friends travelling in Ireland," printed in *Jnl.* xv., Sarah Taylor, of Manchester and Alice Rigge, of Kendal, were travelling in that country in 1768. This may be a reference to these Friends.

[22] Richard Shackleton's first wife (m. 1749) was Elizabeth Fuller (d. 1754), daughter of Henry Fuller, of Fuller's Court, Ballitore and Deborah Barcroft. By Elizabeth Fuller he had four children—Deborah, Margaret, Abraham and Henry (d. yg.), Deborah (b. 1749) married Thomas Chandlee (1748-1816), of Athy, in 1780, and Margaret (b. 1751) married Samuel Grubb (1750-1815), of Clonmel, in 1776.

[23] Margaret, wife of Abraham Shackleton, 1st (1696-1771), was a daughter of Richard Wilkinson, of Knowlbank in Craven, Co. York, and Margaret Hall, aunt of David Hall, the Minister-schoolmaster, of Skipton.

Pedigree of Shackleton, 1811, in **D.**

[24] Mary and Sarah. Mary Shackleton (1758-1826) married, in 1791, William Leadbeater and became the writer and historian of the family. Sarah Shackleton died unmarried.

[25] James Eddy (1712-*c.* 1770), of Belfast, and Mary Darragh (*c.* 1724-), his wife (married *c.* 1742), were Presbyterians who joined Friends. They emigrated to America, *c.* 1753. They had sixteen children, all of whom were dead save Thomas and Mary (Hosack), when Thomas wrote his reminiscences towards the end of the century.

Thomas Eddy (1758-1827) was a merchant and philanthropist, of New York. He was styled " the Howard of America."

Life, by Samuel L. Knapp, New York, 1834, with portrait.

[26] Samuel Neale (1729-1792) was born in Dublin. In 1757 he married Mary Peisley (1717-1757), who died a few days after her marriage. S. Neale was in America 1770-72. He lived at Spring Mount, near Cork. " His dwelling is neat and elegant and commands a delightful prospect. He became possessed of this place by his wife, a pleasing sensible religious Friend [presumably a second wife] " (*R. and E. Shackleton*, 1849, p. 120).

[27] Susannah Carleton married Michael Harlan. See note 35.

[28] Robert Willis (? 1713-1791) was of New Jersey. James Jenkins, who met him in Ireland states that " he was a man of extremely wild and rustic appearance. In his address to Friends at our week-day meeting, he told them bluntly that they were ' an idle company and an indolent company ' " (Records and Recollections, p. 96). He was brought up to the trade of a carpenter, but owing to poor health " he supported himself by making nets, which he knitted and knotted as he travelled about on his preaching tours " (Rancocas *John Woolman*, 1922, p. 372).

[29] William Hunt (1733-1772) was of Guilford County, North Carolina. James Jenkins writes of him as " a cheerful, indeed very agreeable fellow-traveller to Robert Dudley and myself for many miles " (Records, p. 96). He was a great preacher. His cousin, John Hunt (*c.* 1740-1824), wrote of him in his Journal : " At Woodbury [N.J.] meeting he spoke a considerable time. Dined at Mark Miller's. Cousin William appeared in prayer at the table ; he began to speak again soon after dinner and continued till near sun-down. Went to David Cooper's to lodge. Cousin William began to speak soon after supper and continued till almost bedtime " ! (Comly, *Miscellany*, x. 219). Richard Jordan, of the same State, described Hunt as " the greatest man that Carolina ever held." He died of smallpox at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Memoirs, 1858; there is a valuable note on William Hunt in the Rancocas *John Woolman*, 1922, pp. 517-520.

[30] Sarah Morris (1703-1775) was a Philadelphian, and a Minister for over thirty years. Accompanied by her niece, Deborah Morris (1724-1793), she crossed the Atlantic in 1772, at the age of seventy, returning in 1773 with her companion and three Friends from Great Britain bound on religious service in the New World.

[31] John Woolman (1720-1772), of Mount Holly, N.J., whose *Journal* has become a classic and whose life has recently received abundant illumination from the researches of Amelia Mott Gummere, published in the Rancocas edition of his works, 1922, edited by this able historian.

[32] Samuel Emlen (1730-1799), only child of Joshua Emlen (not son of *Samuel* Emlen, as some records state), of Philadelphia, and Deborah Powel, his wife, was a man of considerable wealth and spent much of his life in religious work. He paid seven visits to Europe and resided some time in England, *c.* 1764-7.

In 1756 he crossed the Atlantic in the *Charming Polly* with Samuel Fothergill, Catharine Payton and Mary Peisley (homeward bound) and perhaps with Abraham Farrington (outward). Two young men Friends were also aboard. In 1758 he returned in company with John Storer (outward) and Mordecai Yarnall (homeward).

In 1772 John Woolman and S. Emlen came to Europe on board the *Mary and Elizabeth* (James Sparks, master), on which also were James Reynolds, Dr. John Till Adams, Sarah Logan and maid and John Bispham. [For notes respecting these Friends, see Rancocas *John Woolman.*]

In 1784 the goodship *Commerce* brought over S. Emlen and his son Samuel, Thomas Ross, George and Sarah Dillwyn, Rebecca Jones, and Mehetabel Jenkins, all on religious service. S. E. returned the next year.

In 1792 S. Emlen and Sarah Harrison were outward bound and Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson homeward bound (the name of the vessel not found). S. E. returned in 1794 on the *Barclay*, with John Wigham and Martha Routh (outward) and William Rotch and family (homeward)—fourteen Friends in all.

In 1796 he crossed on the *Sussex* with Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young (homeward) and William Savery, Phebe Speakman and Sarah Talbot (outward), returning in 1797.

" He spoke the modern languages fluently and was an accomplished Greek and Latin scholar, once addressing a learned audience in the Latin tongue " (Rancocas *John Woolman*, p. 515).

[33] The " wild and rustic appearance " of Robert Willis (see note 28) and the unusual style of dress adopted by John Woolman, would give rise to the " something of singularity " mentioned by Thomas Carleton. Judging from the picture in the Rancocas *John Woolman*, the personal appearance was not attractive. See also Rancocas *John Woolman*, p. 123, as to Woolman's personal appearance.

[34] Thomas Carleton, the Younger (1732-1803), married Lydia Gregg. Of these children—Hannah became Passmore and Lydia became Mendenhall. There are references to this family in *Bi-centennial of Old Kennet*, 1911, p. 48, and Myers's *Immigration*, 1902.

[35] Susanna Carleton (1731-) married, in 1766, Michael Harlan (1724-1806). Of the children Hannah (1768-1839) became Baker, Sarah became Bonsall, Mary (1772-1815) became Skelton, and Susanna, born later, and died about 1810, became Walton (*Old Kennet ; Baily Genealogy*, 1912).

[36] Abraham Shackleton, the younger (1752-1818). In 1779 he married Lydia Mellor. In later life he fell under reproof by his Monthly Meeting of Carlow and became " the leading spirit in the movement of reaction against the growing orthodox tendencies of Friends " (Jones, *Later Periods*, p. 293). James Jenkins is not so charitable as R. M. Jones. He writes :

"I knew him when a steady young man—the serviceable member and ornament of the Society in those parts, but this was long before he sunk his reputation and changed his character into that of a New Light Chief. . . . What a pity that he, learned, wise, and useful, should have become a dupe and the tool of the Irish New-lights and afterwards the willing disciple of Hannah Barnard" (Records and Recollections, pp. 84, 955, 964).

See also Rathbone, *Narrative of Events in Ireland*, 1804, pp. 39, 50ff, 162ff, 216, 221, App. 16.

[37] The sad family losses sustained by Samuel Carleton (*c.* 1714-1780) are set forth in full in *The Leadbeater Papers*, 2nd ed. 1862, p. 185: "He had lately retired from business in Dublin and come to reside with my Aunt [Deborah] Carleton. He had, several years before this time, buried his wife and all his children except one son." This young man, Thomas Carleton, married and there was a prospect of a grandchild to cheer the old man, but alas! there was a premature birth and death, followed by the death of both son and daughter-in-law. See *R. and E. Shackleton*, 1849, pp. 82, 126.

[38] Thomas Chandlee (1701-1776).

John Chandlee (note 10) = Deborah, dau. of Thomas and Isabel Carleton.

Thomas (1701-1776, note 38) = Jane Robinson.

Thomas (1748-1816, note 22) = Deborah, dau. of Richard and Elizabeth (Fuller) Shackleton.

Thomas = Eliza Taylor.

Elizabeth Emily = Thomas Henry Webb.

Information from Thomas H. Webb, of Dublin.

[39] Thomas Thornbrough, Junr. (-1787), of North Carolina, was William Hunt's nephew and travelling companion. He "died of smallpox while in Pennsylvania on his return from a second religious visit to Europe, before reaching his home" (Rancocas *John Woolman*, p. 562).

BAPTISM. St. George the Martyr, Queen's Square.

1722. Dec. 27. Joseph Taylor, an adult of about 17 or 18 years of age. His father a Quaker.

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

The Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City, are importers of Friends' literature.

Many of the books in D may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to the Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

AT the suggestion of Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, Samuel Traquair Tyson, of Los Angeles, Calif., has sent over a copy of his book *A Contribution to the History and Genealogy of the Tyson and Fitzwater Families,* 59 pages, large octavo. There appears to be some uncertainty as to the origin of the Tyson family, English or Dutch, but it is evident that Reynier Tyson went from Crefeld, near the Holland border of Germany, to America in 1683 and became one of the settlers of Germantown, though afterwards removing into the Abington district of Pa. He was born about 1659 and had become a Friend before emigration. He died in 1745. See "The Friend" (Phila.), vol. 30 (1857), p. 229. The family is traced down through five generations to the compiler, born 1841.

Dr. James Tyson, of Philadelphia (1841-1919), has been said to be a descendant of Reynier Tyson but in a letter to the compiler in 1890, he claims descent from Cornelius Tyson, perhaps brother of Reynier. C. F. Jenkins, has sent an extract from "Who's Who," respecting Dr. Tyson, adding that he was a warm friend of his and an interested Friend all his life—a member of Race Street M.M., Philadelphia:

TYSON, JAMES, physician, b. Phila., Oct. 26, 1841. s. Henry and Gertrude (Haviland) T.; A.B., Haverford Coll., 1860, A.M., 1864. M.D., U. of Pa., 1863; LL.D., Haverford Coll., 1908, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1912; M. Frances Bosdevex of Phila., Dec. 5, 1865. Professor pathology and morbid anatomy, 1876-89, dean, ed. faculty 1888-92, Prof. practice of medicine, 1899-1910—Prof. emeritus, 1910—U. of Pa. Pres. Assn. Am. Physicians, 1907-8; mem. A.M.A., Am. Philos. Soc.; Fellow Coll. Physicians, Phila., pres., 1907-10. Author Introduction to Normal Histology, 1873; The Cell Doctrine—Its history and present state, 2nd edit., 1878; Practical Examination of Urine, 10th edit., 1902; Physical Diagnosis, 6th edit., 1913; Text Book of Practice of Medicine, 5th edit., 1909; Bright's Disease and Diabetes, 2nd edit., 1904; also numerous papers on med. subjects. Died 26 Feb., 1919.

Thomas Fitzwater (originally Fitzwalter) and family went over to America from Middlesex in the same ship, the Welcome, as William Penn, in 1682. In the epidemic which invaded the ship, Thomas's wife and two of his children died. "The survivors never forgot the horrors of this passage. Fifty years or more after the event, old people used to speak of it with fear and trembling." Thomas married again, but, judging by the copies of M.M. minutes given in the book, his wife and he found some difficulty in living together. "He was a preacher among Friends and died in Philadelphia, 8th mo. 6th, 1699." His son, Thomas, married a Tyson.

A volume of *Verses*, by William C. Braithwaite, selected by him shortly before his death, has been published by The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., London, at five shillings net. The " poems serious and light " were written between 1886 and 1921.

---

* We are glad that another edition of *The Story of George Fox*, by R. M. Jones (reviewed *Jnl.* xviii. 98), has been called for, but we regret that several errors in the first edition have re-appeared—we presume because electrotypes of the first edition have been used without alteration.

Stolen Aureoles : Legends now for the first time collected together by T. Edmund Harvey (Oxford : Blackwell, 7¼ by 4¾, pp. 80, 2s. 6d.). This little book consists of five sections and a preface, and gives us brief life-histories of seven saints—SS. Eutychus, Usage, Expedite, Opportuna, Hilary, Severus, and Placid—embodiments of attitudes of mind, good and bad. The Preface, describing how some of the " legends " arose and how they have survived, is cleverly written but the reader will soon find " which things are an allegory." Yet will he appreciate them none the less. Read especially section two—how St. Usage visited the sacred places and brought away relics wherewith to confirm the faithful —" a raven's feather from the cave by the brook Kedron where the prophet Elijah was fed . . . a piece of potsherd with which it was piously believed the Patriarch Job scraped himself," etc.

Edward Grubb's " What is Quakerism ? " has been issued in German by the title of *Das Wesen des Quākertums* (Jena : Diderichs, 1923).

The Friends' Herald is published monthly by Ohio Y.M. Publication Board, Urbana, Ohio. The editor is Charles E. Haworth, 601 E. Sycamore Street, Van Wert, O.

" Let us imagine for a moment in those early times [in Philadelphia], the alarm of ' fire ' given on ' First-day,' when out of each pent roof door in Front and Second Streets and perhaps as high up town as Fifth Street, in Arch and Market and Chestnut Streets, the quiet Quaker in his plain, neat First-day suit, his broad-brim, his breeches, and buckle-shoes, and yarn stockings, with three or four fire buckets on either arm, proceeding in an excited gait to the nearest pump, to stand in line to pass on the water . . . . and after neighbor A's roof had been rid of the fire, returning home with his buckets on his arm, with soaked shoes, and muddy stockings."

Quoted from Richard Vaux's address before the Philadelphia Hose Company in 1850, in an art. in *Pa. Magazine*, July, 1922, on " Early Fire Protection and Use of Fire Marks."

A third and revised edition has appeared of *The Parables of Jesus*, by Elbert Russell, director of Woolman School, Swarthmore, Pa., and author of " Jesus of Nazareth in the Light of To-day " (Phila., Pa. : Walter H. Jenkins, 7 by 4½, pp. 94).

Charles M. Alexander, a Romance of Soul-winning, by Helen (Cadbury) Alexander and J. Kennedy Maclean, 2nd ed. illus., 1922, 272 pages—a most interesting book.

A life of *Tom Bryan, First Warden of Fircroft*, has been written by Herbert G. Wood and Arthur E. Ball (London: Allen and Unwin, 7½ by 5, pp. 156, 5s. net). Tom Bryan was born at Leicester in 1865. At Bradford he became connected with the Labour Movement and three years later he joined F. Herbert Stead at the Browning Hall Settlement in Walworth. In 1903 he settled at Woodbrooke and in 1909 he became the first Warden of Fircroft, the Adult School Settlement, near Birmingham, which position he held until his lamented and early death in 1917.

The Star, Johannesburg, S.A., of Jan. 23rd, has an article on "How to know old China," descriptive of the "Plymouth Ware," and the story of William Cookworthy (1705-1780) as "the originator of the valuable chinaware now known as 'Old Plymouth.'"

---

* Another volume of the *Piers Plowman Social and Economic Histories* has appeared. Book II, 1066 to 1300, written by R. H. Snape, M.A. (London: George Philip and Son, Ltd., pp. xii+244, forty-four illustrations, 3s.). There are chapters on The Upper Classes, Village Life, Market Day and Fair Time, Merchants and Merchandise, The Monasteries, Crusading, etc. The Book Lists at the ends of the chapters are helpful to further study.

William Taylor, Hope Villas, Middleton, near Manchester, has prepared *A Renovation Souvenir* of Friends' Meeting House, Crawshawbooth, meeting house and attached caretaker's cottage having recently undergone considerable repair. Crawshawbooth belongs to Marsden M.M. in East Lancashire. The first portion of the meeting house was built in 1715 and the newer portion in 1736. Views of the meeting house and plans accompany the *Souvenir*. The compiler will send copies of his *brochure* to interested members of the F.H.S.

---

* "The 'Friends,' Quakers, seemed to have most freshness in their spiritual experience, doubtless because of their withdrawal from the organized society of the Church and their appeal to the individual inner light and the freedom of the spirit. Yet they soon also established a general formal type, and their spiritual life adopted a fashion and formulated a terminology which comes under Russell Lowell's description of the 'dialect of Canaan.'" From *Classics of The Soul's Quest*, by R. E. Welsh, M.A., D.D., 1922, p. 17.

In *The Beehive: Germantowners for Germantown*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Nov. 1922), appears an article by C. F. Jenkins on "The Passing of the Old Town Hall." It also contains a list of the first settlers of Germantown, Pa., including Thones Kunders and Reynier Tyson. From 1814

to 1848, John Fanning Watson was the cashier of the National Bank of Germantown. He was the author of "Annals of Philadelphia," 1830. There is a good description of the Stenton mansion, erected by James Logan in 1728 and still in excellent preservation—made famous as the home of Deborah (Norris) Logan (1761-1839), wife of Dr. George Logan (1755-1821). See *Jnl.* ii.

Spiritual Energies in Daily Life is the title of the latest book by Dr. R. M. Jones (New York: The Macmillan Company, 7¾ by 5, pp. 199). This is a companion volume to "The Inner Life" and "The World Within." Here is a helpful passage from the chapter headed: "The Great Energies that Work":

"The Psalmist who wrote our best loved psalm, the twenty-third, thought at first that God was his Shepherd because he led him in green pastures and beside still waters where there was no struggle and no enemy to fear. But he learned at length that in the dark valleys of the shadow and on the rough jagged hillsides God was no less a good Shepherd than on the level plains and in the lush grass; and he found at last that even 'in the presence of enemies' he could be fed with good things and have his table spread. The overflowing cup and the anointed head were not discovered on the lower levels of ease and comfort—they came out of the harder experiences when 'enemies' of his peace were busy supplying obstacles and perplexities for him to overcome."

Mary Hodgkin, of Darlington, has compiled a very helpful volume for daily reading entitled *A Diary for the Thankful-hearted* (London: Methuen, 8¾ by 5, pp. xxxiii.+262). The writings of many authors have been introduced and quotations are here in great variety. For February 15th, we have:

"Thank God for humour! How often have quarrels been ended, and strained situations eased, as the occurrence of some ludicrous incident, or the utterance of some wisely humorous remark compelled the contending parties to unite in wholesome laughter!—J. B. Hodgkin"

And for October 29th:

"Oh! isn't it nice, when beginning to tire,
To sit down and rest in front of the fire."
"Infants' Magazine."

Among Quaker authors are William C. Allen, William Dewsbury, George Fox, J. B. Hodgkin, Ronald Hodgkin, L. Violet Holdsworth, John S. Hoyland, Thomas Story, Rebecca N. Taylor, Richard H. Thomas and J. G. Whittier.

The long-awaited Rancocas Edition of *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, edited by Amelia Mott Gummere, has now appeared (Philadelphia: 302 Arch Street; London: 140, Bishopsgate, 8¾ by 6, pp. xxii.+643, price 25s.). Much new illuminative material is here given, obtained from three copies of *The Journal* recently become available by presentation to public libraries. Doubtless references to the wonderful supply of biographical data will frequently find their way into our pages. We have not yet been able to make a *study* of Mrs. Gummere's *magnum opus*.

The editor writes from Spring Lake Beach, N.J., under date of December 17, 1922 :

" It is tragic to reflect how so many of those most interested in helping me are gone—my husband [Dr. F. B. Gummere, of Haverford College], Professor Thomas, and then President Sharpless—all my neighbors, and daily advisors almost. Then went Malcolm Spence, at Almery Garth in York, and then Granville Leeds, Rancocas (these last in the two homes of John Woolman), and then W. C. Braithwaite."

The following are culled from the *Catalogue of Manuscripts—National Library of Wales*, 1921 :

A Defence of Water Baptism.

This is a controversial Tract bearing the title " A Defence of Water Baptism in opposition to all Anabaptists and Quakers from Scripture, Reason, and the Church's Custome. Whereunto there is added a Discourse touching the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, as a necessary Appendix or Sacramental Complement thereof. Both delivered at first in two several sermons upon an occasion of a publike Dispute had November 2, 1674, with one Thomas Curtiss of or near unto Reading in Berkshire, Quaker, but now made publike for the Common good, especially theirs of the Towne of Uffington. By R. G[reen], Minister of Uffington in ye County of Berks " (vol. i., p. 173).

Poetry and Essays of Hugh Maurice, 1806-21, pp. 27-30. " An Account of the Adventures of Captain William Jones, the Welsh Quaker, from Waterford in Tooley Street." *Welsh* (*ibid.* p. 150).

English englynion on Tobacco by Charles Lloyd of Dolobran—poetry (*ibid.* p. 334).

The Quakers' Meeting, by C. Lamb, translated into Welsh (*ibid.* p. 191).

The Baptist Quarterly, January, 1923, refers, on page 236, to a broadside entitled : " The Entertainment of Lady Monk at Fishers Folly, with an Address made to her by a member of the college of Bedlam at her visiting these Phanatiques "—reprinted by J. P. Collier—adding : " Note that Thomas Rugge's Mercurius Politicus Redivivus says that in November [ ] the Countess of Devonshire entertained the King at the same place ; Kiffins meeting-house apparently did not occupy the whole of the premises."

See pamphlet " Devonshire House," 1920.

The Earlham described so strikingly by Percy Lubbock in his book *Earlham* is not the Quaker Earlham, although some of its previous Quaker inhabitants are mentioned casually. Earlham Hall, with gables dated 1642, was rented by John Gurney (1749-1809) in 1786 and remained in the hands of the family till the death of his son Joseph John in 1847, when for a few years it stood empty, till John, son of Samuel, took his young wife and their small children to live there. The widow of John married a clergyman (William Nottidge Ripley), and lived at the Hall for nearly fifty years. (London : Jonathan Cape, 8¼ by 5½, pp. 254.)

With the New Year began a new "Christian Weekly Journal"—*The Guardian*, published in Calcutta (96, Beadon Street) and edited in part by our friend, Joseph Taylor (6s. 6d. per ann. in Britain and Colonies). The editors write:

"This weekly paper is the outcome of the deliberations of a group of Indians belonging to different provinces, and others who though not actually children of India by birth, have spent very many years in sympathetic efforts to serve her, and who, especially during and since the great war, are conscious of dissatisfaction with their surroundings, social, commercial, political, and religious."

With the New Year began also a new series of *Friends' Fellowship Papers*, with Elizabeth Fox Howard as editor, and M. Ethel Crawshaw (24, Wallbutton Road, London, S.E.4) as publishing secretary. 4s. per ann. to M. E. Crawshaw, and $1.00 per ann. to Grace W. Blair, Media, Pa. —published every two months.

John G. Whittier and Elizabeth Lloyd

The publication of *Whittier's Unknown Romance—Letters to Elizabeth Lloyd*, with an introduction by Marie V. Denervaud (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 8 by 5½, pp. x+72, $5.00) has revived an interest in this lady, one of the most intimate of the poet's friends and herself a poet.

"Hannah Lloyd & Elizabeth Lloyd, Jr. [1811-1896], were the daughters of Isaac & Elizabeth Lloyd, prominent Elders [in the Society of Friends], of Southern District (Orange Street) M.M., Philadelphia. Elizabeth, Jr., and her sister Hannah were well known & highly esteemed writers both in prose & verse. . . . *Cardiphonia*, by Hannah, & *Milton's Prayer of Patience*, by Elizabeth, were usually considered their most meritorious productions. . . . The sisters, as well as their parents, were warm friends of Joseph John Gurney"[1] (letter from Joshua L. Baily, of Philadelphia, in 1916, in **D**).

In Pickard's *Life* of Whittier (i. 217) we read:

"Among the young women looked upon with interest and admiration was Elizabeth Lloyd, Jr., author of many beautiful poems, and there was a special glamour attached to her, because she was understood to be one of the very few with whom Whittier was really on terms of warm, personal friendship, outside of his firm and faithful comradeship with his anti-slavery friends."

In 1853, Elizabeth married Robert Howell, a non-Friend. The wedding took place at the Lloyd home, but the parents did not feel at liberty to attend, as it was not an authorised Quaker ceremony.[2] Howell died after three years of married life, described by Whittier

[1] E. Lloyd wrote a "Tribute to the Memory of Joseph John Gurney" (in ms. in **D**).

[2] E. Howell did not lose her membership. Whittier writes: "I cannot tell thee how rejoiced I am to hear of thy success in maintaining thy place in our Society" (4 ii. 1855, p. 12).

(3 viii. 1859, p. 36) as "a season which, brief as it was, had the length of years in its completeness."

It has been a tradition in the Lloyd family that Whittier proposed marriage to her in her earlier years and again when she was a widow.

The book before us contains thirty letters to E. Lloyd and two letters to her sister Hannah—become Hannah Lloyd Neall. There is an Introduction by Miss Denervaud, of Boston, a grand-daughter of Elizabeth and a photogravure frontispiece. Whittier's letters are full of affectionate interest in Elizabeth's concerns, and he gives frequent expression to his own feelings and convictions.

In a letter dated 24 vi. 1859 (p. 24) Whittier wrote:

"I, as thee knows, am no sectarian, but I am a Quaker, nevertheless, and I regard the philosophy underlying Quakerism as the truest and purest the world has ever known. I care little for some of our peculiarities; but I love the principles of our Society, and I know that it, with all its faults and follies, is, at the moment, in the very van of Christendom; that among its members, at this very hour, are the best specimens of Christians to be found in the wide world" (See also p. 31).

On 18 v. 1859 (p. 18) he wrote (letter facsimiled):

"Yesterday I attended our little meeting, cordially welcomed by our friends. It was pleasant to sit once more with 'mine own people.' Bird-songs floated in upon us from without on breezes sweet with the odors of the greening spring:—the irreverent bob-o-link adding his rollicking 'Negro melodies.'"

The book has been produced in attractive form. Only 385 copies were printed. The copy in **D** (numbered 374) was presented by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

A Grangerised "George Fox"

A unique copy of *George Fox*, by Thomas Hodgkin, published in 1896, has been on loan in **D** by the kindness of the owner, William A. Cadbury. It has been specially inlaid (that is, framed in paper) to 10½ inches by 7½ inches and grangerised with numerous portraits and pictures, the whole bound in red.

The frontispiece is a copy in colors of J. Walter West's painting of Swarthmoor Hall. There are portraits of George Fox (by Lely and Honthorst), Archbishop Laud, Henry VII., James I., Duke of Buckingham (d. 1628), John Bunyan, Savonarola, William Sewel, John G. Whittier (by Hollyer), James Nayler, Sir John Hotham, Judge Bradshaw, Col. Francis Hacker, O. Cromwell (by Cooper and Walker), Maj.-Gen. Desborough, Chief Justice Glynn, Doctor John Owen, Hugh Peters, Earl of Newport, Elizabeth Claypole and her husband John Claypole, Richard Cromwell, General George Monck, Gen. Henry Ireton, Charles II., Sir Thomas Twisden, Thomas Venner, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Lady Fairfax, William Penn (by West), Lodovic Muggleton, Joanna Southcott, Lord Arlington, Lord Baltimore, Sir Matthew Hale, Princess Elizabeth of the Palatine, Prince Rupert, James II. and William III., and views of Jordans and Hunger Hill.

Recent Accessions to D

IN addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading "Friends and Current Literature," the following items have been added to **D** during the last few months:

Charles F. Jenkins has presented a copy of the third edition of his *Guide Book to Historic Germantown*, 1915, 116 pages. Among many interesting events and persons concerned in them, there are several notices of the first public protest in America against slavery. It was made in 1688 at a meeting of Friends at the house of Thones Kunders (d. 1729, ancester of the Conrad and Conard families) who was one of the original settlers of Germantown.[1] The paper was written by Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651-1719) of whom there is a short biography in the *Guide* and whose "Life" was written by M. D. Learned in 1908; the table on which it was written is preserved in the Mennonite Meeting House in Germantown and used as a communion table. The protest was signed by F. D. Pastorius and three others and forwarded to Monthly and Quarterly Meeting and at the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, N.J. Reproductions of the protest may be seen at the Friends' Institute in London, Friends' Free Library in Germantown and doubtless elsewhere.

On page 120 we read:

"In the graveyard of the Dunkard community, in an unmarked grave, lie the remains of Harriet Livermore, the Pilgrim Stranger who is alluded to in Whittier's "Snow Bound," an eccentric religious enthusiast, the daughter of a Senator from New Hampshire. Her last days were spent in poverty in Philadelphia and as she was about to be buried in a pauper's grave a member of the Dunkard Church took her body, and had it interred here."

The executors of the late William C. Braithwaite have presented several volumes, among them:

The Quakers Wilde Questions, by R. Sherlock, B.D., London, 1654, 129 pages.

Heresiography, by Pagitt, third edition. London, 1647, 167 pages.

The Magick of Quakerism, by George Keith, London, 1707, 91 pages.

A Short Historical Sketch of the Old Merion Meeting House, Merion, Pa., compiled by Charles E. Hires in 1917, and well-illustrated, 22 pages.

[1] This was in 1683, lots for the land being drawn in the cave of Pastorius on the bank of the Delaware River.

In 1902, Miss Violet Oakley of New Jersey, was commissioned to produce some paintings for the walls of the Governor's Room in the new State Capitol of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg. These were finished just before the dedication of the building at Thanksgiving time, 1906. They represent the " Founding of the State." They are thirteen in number and refer to William Tyndale and his New Testament; the trial of Anne Askew (in which, alas! the erroneous statement of relationship with Margaret Askew-Fell-Fox is given a further lease of life); George Fox on his Mount of Vision, 1652; and eight scenes in the life of William Penn, ending with a beautiful representation of Penn leaning over the bow of the " Welcome " to obtain his first sight of his new Province.

Edwin Austin Abbey had been commissioned to paint a series of pictures for the Senate Chamber, but owing to his death before he had begun work, Miss Oakley was asked, in 1911, again to take up the brush, and she completed the work in 1922.

This second series deals with " The Creation and Preservation of the Union " and consists of nine paintings, those of special interest to Friends being the Story of the Latchstring (in which, however, the surroundings in the Quaker home are much too ornate); the Friend who bought a shipful of slaves and ransomed them[2]; and several quotations, illustrated, from the Journal of John Woolman.

Last year these twenty-two paintings were reproduced in colour and supplied with notes by Miss Oakley, the whole, comprising seventy leaves, enclosed in a handsome portfolio measuring 23½ ins. by 15½ ins., with a title page, *The Holy Experiment: A Message to the World from Pennsylvania*, dedicated to the Memory of William Penn and the Cause of Peace.

By the generosity of Charles Francis Jenkins, ex-president of Friends' Historical Society, a copy of this portfolio, numbered 235, has been presented to **D** and will form a handsome and valuable addition to Friends' Reference Library.

In volume ix. we printed extracts from the twenty-eight manuscripts known as the Thirnbeck MSS., then belonging to Wilfrid Grace, of Bristol, having come to him from his aunt, Ellen Clare Grace, who received them from her aunt, Mary Thirnbeck, a descendant of Rachel Abraham, daughter of Margaret Fell. These very valuable original letters have now been presented by the widow of Wilfrid Grace and will be added to the series of papers known as the Swarthmore Manuscripts. It is interesting that manuscripts, separated in many directions in 1759, on the sale of Swarthmoor Hall, should be brought together again at the headquarters of the Society.

Harry Stanton, of Luton, has " deposited " a diary in five volumes, giving a full description of his imprisonment, treatment by the military, and other experiences during the years 1915-1920.

[2] The author, on enquiry, cannot name the Friend.

"A Dear Memory"

A copy, numbered 80, of *A Dear Memory: Pages from the Letters of Mary Jane Taylor*, chosen and edited by Elizabeth M. Cadbury, privately printed in 1914 (477 pages, with pedigrees of Lucas, Hayhurst, Cash, Taylor and Harris families) has been presented to D by the compiler, and Mrs. Cadbury has kindly permitted us to make extracts referring to some Friends mentioned in the *Letters*. Mary J. Taylor (1831-1887), née Cash, was wife of John Taylor, of London, and mother of Elizabeth M. Cadbury. Through Cash and Lucas and Hayhurst, Taylors claim descent from the family of General George Monck, of Restoration fame.

We may cite several notices of American Ministers visiting Europe:

June, 1849. "We have the company of A. A. JENKINS[1] and S. HOWLAND[2]; the former has asked for a certificate to return and the latter thinks she will not be here at another Y.M. though she cannot see to the end of her visit. . . . I do not at all admire their style of speaking, particularly A. A. Jenkins, and S. Howland drops her voice so much at the end of her sentences and speaks much too slow.

"THOMAS ARNOTT[3] paid us a visit. I like his ministry very much; he speaks very loud and seems to be an illiterate man, sounding most of his words very peculiarly. He seems to have a thorough knowledge of the Bible. Elizabeth Candler thinks T.A. is the most wonderful minister we have had for many years, but, though I like him, I think he is nothing to LINDLEY MURRAY HOAG."

July, 1849. "GEORGE and SUSAN HOWLAND paid us a little visit. We thought them very nice Friends. S.H. shines much more in a domesticated point of view to what she does in a ministerial capacity; in my opinion. G.H. laughed at our Queen being obliged to have a new carriage made for her before visiting Ireland," and more in reference to the non-ministerial side of their visit.

May, 1871. "We have one American woman Friend[4] over here. I have not heard her yet; her husband comes to take care of her; her private history is that at fifteen years old she married and her days of twelve hours long were afterwards spent in the backwoods alone, without one single soul near her! Her husband was a carpenter."

November, 1871. "We enjoyed S. HYATT'S[4] visit very much. Poor thing, she is longing for rest and home, but she gave very beautiful addresses on third-day evening. She is such a loving, confiding woman, so gentle, so simple. I think I never liked any one so much on such short acquaintance."

November, 1877. "Next week we are rather expecting another American, DR. DOUGAN CLARK,[5] to stay here while he holds evening religious meetings each night in Hanover Street [Peckham meeting-house]. I do not know him and do not know that I wish for the meetings, but when we heard that he thought he could not come because there was no house to receive him, of course we gladly asked him here; besides John has attended and enjoyed his meetings in London."

The brothers J. H. and R. W. DOUGLAS[6] receive slight mention; also MURRAY and CAROLINE SHIPLEY[7] of Cincinnati, Ohio. Of English Friends we read:

March 24th, 1882. "No doubt thou hast heard of the dear KATHERINE BACKHOUSE'S[8] calm ending to her long life; she was in her ninetieth year. On her last day she had come down as usual to breakfast at 8, but seemed feeble and restless; once ELIZA BARCLAY[8] asked her did she want anything. 'Only to go to heaven, my dear, and to take thee with me.' Soon after dinner she asked to go to bed and slept quietly till about 6 (I think) then said: 'Raise me,' and after a few heavy breathings she was gone to the heaven she was so ready for."

October 29th, 1859. There is reference to a series of revival meetings at DARLINGTON, described by Hannah M. Bevan.

April 27th, 1886. "William Lloyd Garrison's Life has just been sent to John. In the second volume is a very cutting description of J. J. GURNEY, in Philadelphia, and his want of courage in speaking against slavery."

April 21st, 1853. A good account of SAMUEL GURNEY'S visit to Paris and interview with Louis Napoleon.

December 5th, 1869. "The Friends' Meeting House at Westminster is in Peter's Court, St. Martin's Lane. BEVAN BRAITHWAITE usually goes there on a Sunday morning. The other Ministers are a Mrs. ALEXANDER, a Friend named DELL, and WM. LEAN.[9] The latter is young and very clever, prepares students for the London University, is fluent and popular; I like the man, but do not enjoy his ministry as much as some do; his fluency makes him rather verbose, a contrast in this respect to JOHN HODGKIN, whose every word tells."

November, 1852. "We had another Biblical lecture from J. RICHARDSON.[10] Various opinions are formed respecting these lectures. I think they would be very interesting if delivered by a fit person, for J.R., though endeavouring to do his best, renders too many of his auditors tryingly sleepy!"

February, 1860. "WILLIAM TAYLOR[11] is engaged to be married for the third time. CHARLOTTE MABEL TUKE is the lady. William will have fifty-nine brothers and sisters! and no end of nephews and nieces. His own sister-in-law, TOM'S wife,[11] will be his niece!"

The name of SAMUEL HAYHURST LUCAS[12] appears frequently in the *Letters*. Of his death in 1873 it is said: "Edward Lucas, and his sons the Roman Catholic priests, had managed during the father's illness, to receive him by baptism into fellowship in the Roman Catholic Church; after his death they wished to proceed according to the rites of that Church, but after much discussion gave way."

There are many references to work for TEMPERANCE and signs of its increase in the Society.

Many other Friends are introduced as may be seen by the admirable index to the *Letters*.

NOTES

[1] For Anna Almy Jenkins (1790-1849), see *Jnl.* iv. xv.

[2] For Susan Howland (*c.* 1791-1872), see *Jnl.* iv. xi. xvi.; *Bulletin F.H.S. Phila.* i. 105-107.

[3] For Thomas Arnett (1791-1877), see *Jnl.* iv. xi. xvi., also *Memoirs*, 1884.

[4] Asher and Sarah Hyatt, from Iowa Y.M., were in Europe in 1871-72. Further information is lacking at present.

[5] Dr. Dougan Clark (1828-1896) was at London Y.M. in 1877-79. He was a son of Dougan and Asenath Clark, Ministers well-known on both sides of the Atlantic. R. M. Jones describes the doctor as " by bent and temperament a theologian rather than an evangelist " (*Later Periods*, p. 899). He wrote *The Offices of the Holy Spirit*, 1878 ; *Instruction to Young Converts*, 1889 ; and other books. In 1894 he underwent the rite of water baptism (*The Friend* (Lond.), 1894, 656ff).

[6] John Henry and Robert Walter Douglas, of Indiana Y.M., visited Europe—the one in 1866-68, and the other in 1873 and 1886. See *Later Periods*, p. 897.

[7] Murray Shipley (-) accompanied J. H. Douglas to Europe. For his advance work in connection with Friends see *Later Periods*, p. 899.

[8] Katharine (Capper) Backhouse (1792-1882), of Darlington, widow of John Backhouse, was a well-known Minister, and several times clerk of London Women's Y.M. [I well remember, as a boy, arranging to call at Beechwood about dessert time, and I was generally invited to share in K.B.'s plates of fruit !—N.P.]

Eliza Barclay (1812-1884) was K.B.'s step-daughter, widow of Robert Barclay for forty-two years.

[9] Louis Dell, of Westminster Meeting, informs us that the principal Friends attending the Meeting at that time were Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, Martha Braithwaite, William Rawbone Dell, Richard Dell, William Scarnell Lean and Isabella Alexander.

William Scarnell Lean (1833-1908) was a son of William Lean, of Camp Hill, Birmingham, and a grandson of Joel Lean, of Fishponds, Bristol—" the third in four generations, of schoolmasters "—the fourth being W. S. Lean's son, Dr. Bevan Lean, headmaster of Sidcot School. W. S. Lean's mother was Hannah Scarnell, who held a confidential position among the Gurneys of Earlham." For some years W. S. Lean was a tutor in Darlington and in 1861 he removed to London. In 1864 he married Marianna Bevan, of London, and in 1870, he became Principal of the Flounders Institute at Ackworth in Yorkshire. (See *Jnl.* xv.) In 1899 he left Friends and became a clergyman in the Anglican Church, and in 1907 he re-united himself with the Society of Friends. There is a valuable memoir in *Annual Monitor*, 1909.

[10] Josiah Richardson (*c.*1792-1859) lived at Peckham, London. In 1845 he published *Lectures on Natural Theology and the Old Testament in General*, and in 1857 a pamphlet appeared *On the Propriety of reading the the Scriptures in our Meetings for Worship.*

[11] William Taylor (1818-1897) lived at Middlesbrough, Co. York. His brother, Thomas R. Taylor (1824-1880), and his wife, Elizabeth H. Tuke, lived at Redcar in the same county.

[12] For Samuel Hayhurst Lucas (1786-1873), see *Jnl.* xviii.

MARGARET BRAGG AND GEORGE WASHINGTON WALKER.—" You probably have heard that Marg[t] Bragg left G. W. Walker several hundred pounds to commence business with, which he intends doing in Hobart Town."

RICHARD COCKIN to Mary (Sylvanus) Fox, Doncaster, 6 ii. 1841.

Thomas Mudd

Thomas Mudd and Ann, his wife, were Friends, of Rickmansworth. Thomas is the recipient of a letter of admonition and caution from Isaac Penington in 1672 (*Penington's Letters*, p. 277). In 1673, Ann Mudd is mentioned in a controversial tract of William Penn's (*Judas & the Jews*, p. 40) as being guilty of some error against the way of Friends. In 1674, George Fox writing to William Penn says: "... as for Mudd & his wiffe I woulde not have them any ways concerned with them for they are false."[1] The burial registers for the district covering Rickmansworth do not mention either of them. It is to be presumed that they became dissociated or were disowned by Friends.

Robert J. Whitwell sends the following respecting Mudd:

"Mr. Francis W. H. Fincham, formerly Superintendent of the Department of Literary Inquiry in the Principal Probate Registry, now of Canterbury, contributes *Notes from the Ecclesiastical Court Records at Somerset House* to Vol. iv. (1921) of the fourth series of *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society. Among these *Notes* is one (p. 131), apparently from a Correction Book of the Consistory of London, dated '21, Feb., 1678 (?)' by Mr. Fincham:

"'Thomas Mudds of Rickmansworth, though neither a Brownist nor a Catholic Recusant, would seem to have been a Quaker. When presented for not attending the Parish Church his reply is as follows. After excusing himself on the ground of old age, feebleness and distance from church, he makes the following pathetic appeal:

"'"I can serve noe other gods but y^e^ Lord onely neither can I worship him acceptably but as hee leades me by his owne spirit. Oh y^t^ all would verilie consider this for it is y^e^ spirit of the Lord onely that leades unto all truth and out of all unrighteousness; and of this pure religion and spiritual worship I am made a liveing witness and am willing to suffer whatsoever may be inflicted or imposed for I am y^e^ Lords servant and in Him am fully given upp to love or serve the worst of enimys."'"

MARRIAGE.—Charlbury, Oxon. (Transcripts of Parish Register at the Bodleian, Oxford):

"THOS. FARDON of This Parish, Bachelor & Quaker, & Hester Insall, of This Parish, Spinster, were married in This Church by Licence & Consent of Guardins [*sic*] by John Arrowsmith, Curate. Feb. 27, 1760."

[1] See *Jnl.* vii. 73.

Passed for press 6 June, 1923.

Vol. XX. No. 2 1923

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editor: NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A.
Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2

For Table of Contents see page two of cover

Dr. John Fothergill to Lady Pennington

THIS letter, from Dr. John Fothergill (1712-1780) to Lady Pennington, is a response to an application by her for money in aid of a poor man. The courteous tone of the letter is noticeable, combined with some curious Quaker features—the habitual avoidance of the difficulty of naming the month by writing "inst.," and repeating the applicant's name in place of "thee" or "thy."

Dr. Fothergill was at this time near the close of his life, about sixty-five years of age, and his constant generosity, and the frequent needs and claims of his near connections, had embarrassed him. He had made many loans, and no-one, he pathetically remarked, ever thought of paying him either principal or interest, for what he had lent. His income is believed to have been about £5,000, worth say from two to three times that amount to-day. He hoped to have saved enough to enable him to retire, but he found himself obliged to "labour at the oar" to the end. His botanical garden had become a burden. Hence such a refusal as the present was most necessary, and it is gently and sympathetically conveyed. When he died at sixty-eight, he did not leave much more than five years' income behind him after all was sold.

R. HINGSTON FOX,
Author of *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends.*

Harpur Street, 12th inst.

Respected Friend,

It gave me concern the other day, that time did not permit me to receive a visit from Lady Pennington, but my time is very seldom my own ; and it hurts me not a little, that I am prevented likewise from complying with the request contained in thy obliging letter. It is generally supposed that my income is considerable—that I do not employ my money in trade, and of consequence that it is always at my command. This opinion subjects me to perpetual calls ; and I am actually some thousands in debt to my Banker for money advanced to relieve the necessitys of others.

I have no pretensions to more feelings than others, but from the time I have had any thing to call my own—this has been uniformly the case—called upon to the utmost extent of my ability—in every shape—to assist others—till I am grown to the verge of old age in labouring for others.

I pity the man, tho' I am much a stranger to him, but from character and for Lady Pennington's sake as well as his own, I should cheerfully have complied with her request, could I have done it with any tolerable ease to myself.

I thought this intimation immediately necessary, as it may be necessary for the object of Lady Pennington's concern to be looking out elsewhere for assistance. I wish I could do more than pity his oppressed condition.

I will embrace the first opportunity I can to accept of Lady Pennington's kind invitation, and am with much respect her Friend,

J. FOTHERGILL.

Lady Pennington has not yet been definitely identified. She may have been Sarah, daughter of John Moore, of Somersetshire, who married Sir Joseph Pennington (1718-1793), fourth Baronet, a commissioner of customs. Sarah, Lady Pennington, died at Fulmer, Bucks, in September, 1783. (*Penningtoniana*, 1878, p. viii.)

The following are further references to Lady Pennington :

There is a letter from John Payne (-1787), dated July 12, 1774 (copy in **D**, original in possession of Mrs. O'Brien, of Ennis, Co. Clare, Ireland), introducing the works of William Law, doubtless addressed to Lady Pennington though without name of addressee.

Another (probably original, in **D**), written by Thomas Hartley (1709 ?-1784), and dated " Enfield, Apl. 28, 75," beginning " Good Lady "

and subscribed " Your Ladyship's affectionate friend & h'ble Servt. in Christ, THOS. HARTLEY," the words being added : " By Mrs. Sarah Forster." It is taken up entirely with religious hortation.

And again, in a letter from William Forster, schoolmaster, of Tottenham, to his sister Elizabeth, dated " 1 mo. 11, 1775 " (copy in D) we read :

" Thou need not expect a Letter from sister Sally soon, she is so taken up with Lady P. that she can write to none else, their L^rs^ continue a secret but doubtless clever—she is still one of the most accomplished, most sentimental Letter writer and most religious woman. Sister has introduced her as a Correspondent to the truly worthy Jn° Payne, the Translator of à Kempis, the corrector of the chief of Hawkesworth's pieces, and thought the best Scholar in this age."

It seems late to refer to the " Autumn, 1922 " issue of the *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia* (vol. XI, no. 2, price 50 cents. from 142, North Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.), but this is not a magazine to glance through and put aside and we should be glad for our readers to know something of this valuable medium for the dissemination of information relating to Friends and their interests. The principal item is a continued article on " The Criminal Codes and Penal Institutions of Colonial Pennsylvania," by Professor Harry E. Barnes, of Worcester, Mass., which occupies sixteen pages. This for the general reader—in addition we have useful pages containing " Items from Periodicals," " Book Notices and Reviews," " Notes and Queries," also an account of the CCL. Anniversary of Baltimore Y.M. and a historical sketch of Buckingham Meeting House, Bucks Co., Pa., with illustration.

Q.M. AT YORK, 1820.—The following is extracted from a letter from Richard Cockin (1753-1845), of Doncaster to his niece, Mary Sanderson, *aft.* Fox, 6, Old Jewry, London, dated 15 x. 1820 :

" Our Qr. Meeting was regarded as one of the most memorable ones that Friends can remember. It seemed to me as if every disposition that would oppose the government of the Prince of Peace was *lived down* in the Divine Power.

" In addition to M. and E. DUDLEY, there was ANN JONES, who, with her husband, are moving with a certificat to our parts. HULDAH SEARS was also with us and frequently engaged publickly to advocate the cause of Truth, ISAAC STEPHENSON, and WILLET HICKS from New York, who is in England on business.

" WILLET HICKS is a very lively spirited Friend and frequently cloathed with dignifying authority, when in the exercise of his gift. His Ministerial communications are clear, impressive and accompanied with solemnizing influence on meetings.

" HULDAH SEARS, accompanied by ANN ECROYD, unmarried sister to HENRY ECROYD, is intending to go directly for Scotland. She is 55 years of age, looks rather wore down, is very simple in her deportment, and in conversation evinces a diffident sweetness of disposition."

Leading the Way

BEING a Series of brief Sketches of Quaker Inventions and Discoveries, and of Friends who have led the Way in various directions.[1]

Continued from vol. xix, page 135

LXIV

JOHN CLARK (1785-1853). The inventive genius of this Friend found expression along various lines. In 1830, at Bridgwater, he began making a curious machine for turning out Latin hexameters, the works of which were not completed until 1843. In 1848 he published a pamphlet (not in **D**) descriptive of this machine. His invention was exhibited at the Egyptian Hall in London, of which a writer in the "Guardian" in 1868 said that "of all the curious things exhibited in London, this machine was the most curious."

"J. Clark first discovered the way of making cloth waterproof by means of dissolving indiarubber by alcohol. He sold the process to Macintosh, who used naptha and made a good thing out of it." (MS. in **D**, account of John Clark's inventions, by Joseph Clark, of Street, 1922.)

Joseph Smith, *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, 1867, i. 425.

LXV

CHARLES LYNCH (*c.* 1729-), founder, with his brother John, of Lynchburg, Va., was a member of Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting, but early in life left John in charge of the new city and went West. In 1767 he was disowned for taking an oath, but "in heart he was not greatly changed and he raised his children Friends. About 1778 occurred the event that made his name famous—a conspiracy in his home-neighborhood that he promptly put down with the help of his troops and caused its leaders to be sentenced and

[1] The Editor would be glad to receive information regarding other inventions, discoveries, etc., or regarding other claimants to any of the inventions or positions introduced. The length of the Sketch bears no proportion to the importance of the subject.

imprisoned, thereby exceeding his legal powers." (Ella K. Barnard, *Dorothy Payne, Quakeress*, 1909.)

Jnl. vii. 38, 114.

LXVI

JOHN HARRISON CURTIS (-) was the founder, in 1816, of the Royal Dispensary for Diseases of the Ear, now the Royal Ear Hospital, London. He was aurist to King George IV.

Miscellanea Genealogia, 5th series, vol. iv. p. 149.

LXVII

ADA SALTER, wife of Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., and a South London Friend, is the first woman Mayor in London and the first Labour Mayor in the country—1922-3. She was also the first Labour woman to be elected on a London Borough Council.

LXVIII

JOSEPH STURGE (1793-1859), of Birmingham, " suggested the holding of International Peace Congresses. The first was at Brussels in 1848 and was attended by fifty Friends " (Emmott, *Short History of Quakerism*, 1922, p. 234).

LXIX

DR. JAMES TYSON (1841-1919) was the first president of the Pennsylvania Society for Prevention of Tuberculosis, 1910.

Jnl. xx. 52.

LXX

SIR SAMUAL CUNARD (1787-1865) was the originator of steam postal communication between America and Great Britain, 1840, and founder of the Cunard Steamship Line. " The Cunard family was of Quaker origin,[2] having emigrated from Wales to Philadelphia in the seventeenth century. After the troublous times of the American Revolution, Abraham Cunard, the father of Samuel, came to Halifax, Nova Scotia [from Philadelphia] and obtained a position at the Halifax Dockyard. . . . In 1814 Samuel Cunard married Susan Duffus and had two sons and seven daughters.

[2] Cunard is described in *The Field*, 15th May, 1915, as " a Quaker from Halifax, Nova Scotia."

Mrs. Cunard died in 1822. The family assemblage of the motherless group in the front pew at St. George's Church on Brunswick Street is well remembered. Mr. Cunard was a regular and generous attendant at this fine old historic church." (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vol. xix (1918), pp. 75-91, kindly sent by Elizabeth M. Butler of Halifax, N.S.) Shortly after 1846, S. Cunard removed to London, where he acquired an estate at Bush Hill, Edmonton. It is not yet established whether Abraham Cunard was ever a Friend. He married a daughter of Thomas Murphy, of Philadelphia (*D.N.B.*).

Jnl. xx. 23.

LXXI

"Lewis F. Richardson, an English Friend, has invented lizard balloons and cracker balloons, which are described in two of the latest 'Professional Notes,' of the British Meteorological Office. The former is intended to signal the ratio of pressure to temperature, the latter the temperature itself. They derive their names from their construction and manner of operation" (*American Friend*, ix mo. 29, 1921).

LXXII

John Smith (1722-1771), merchant, of Philadelphia, "was one of the original citizens who introduced public lamps for lighting the streets, and was a founder of the Phila. Contributionship for Insurance of Houses from Loss of Fire, and the first secretary and main executive officer of that company. He was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Hospital, a manager of that institution, and its first secretary" (Rancocas *John Woolman*, 1922, p. 527).

LXXIII

Jonathan Dodgson Carr (-) "began business in Carlisle in 1831. In those days machinery for the manufacture of biscuits was unknown. . . . It was to the initiative and perseverance of Mr. J. D. Carr that England owed its first biscuit machine, its first dough-mixing machine, and many other improvements in the production of biscuits" (*Memories of Old Carlisle*, 1922, quoted in a letter from Carr & Co. Ltd., 1922).

To be continued

Letters from Joseph Gurney to Joseph Gurney Bevan

A SERIES of letters written by Joseph Gurney, of Norwich, to his cousin, Joseph Gurney Bevan, of London, now belonging to Robert Leatham Barclay, great-great-grandson of the writer of the *Letters*, has been on loan in **D**, and permission has been given to print certain extracts. These letters, dating from 1772 to 1776, give a glimpse of the youthful life, at that period, of prosperous Friends of the gayer type.

Joseph Gurney (1757-1830) was the third son and youngest child of John Gurney (1715/16-1770), of St. Augustines, Norwich, and of Keswick Hall, near that city. His brothers were Richard (1742/3-1811) and John (1749-1809) and they had one sister, Rachel (1755-1794). The three brothers were known later as Richard Gurney of Keswick, John Gurney of Earlham, and Joseph Gurney of Lakenham Grove (or, simply, The Grove).[1]

The father of this family, John Gurney, of Keswick, married, about 1739, Elizabeth Kett, daughter of Richard Kett, of Norwich; she was living, as a widow, at the period of the *Letters*. This John Gurney was a son of Joseph Gurney (1692-1750), who married, in 1713, the handsome Hannah Middleton. In 1747 Joseph Gurney acquired Keswick Old Hall. He was a noted Minister. Joseph's father was John Gurney (*c.* 1655-1721) of St. Gregory's parish, who married Elizabeth Swanton in 1687. He became a Friend and suffered for his religious belief.

Joseph Gurney, the writer of the *Letters*, married, in 1784, Jane Chapman (1757-1841), of Whitby. They had nine children, but no descendants of the name. Their daughter, Hannah Chapman (1787-1850), married Jonathan

[1] Arthur J. Eddington has sent a sketch of the relative position of these three houses. Lakenham Grove (now Hall) is about a quarter of a mile south from the City on the Ipswich and London road; Keswick Hall is three miles from the City near the London road; and Earlham Hall is two miles west of the City.

Backhouse (1779-1842), in 1811, and became the noted Minister, travelling in two hemispheres; Jane (1789-1821) married, in 1820, Henry Birkbeck (1787-1848); Elizabeth (1790-1835) married, in 1814, Robert Barclay, of Leyton (1787-1853); and the youngest, Emma (1800-1860), married in 1826, Joseph Pease (1799-1872), of Southend, Darlington. Rachel (1794-1817), the only remaining daughter to grow up, has become historic through the beautiful volume by Sir Alfred E. Pease, Bart., *Rachel Gurney of The Grove*, 1907. Two daughters died young, and two sons, Joseph and Henry, died within a short time of one another, to the great grief of their family—Henry in 1815, aged seventeen, and Joseph in 1816, aged twenty. Portraits in color of Rachel, Mary, Hannah, Elizabeth, Emma, Henry, Joseph, and Jane, are given in Sir Alfred Pease's book. The Gurneys of The Grove have not had any historian as have their cousins of Earlham in Augustus J. C. Hare to make them famous, but some of their descendants are prominent members of the Society of Friends to-day. There was abundance of life and youthful energy among the young cousins at Keswick, Earlham and The Grove. Richard had six children by his two wives, John had twelve and Joseph had nine, and, in addition, Rachel Barclay had fifteen.

Joseph Gurney is thus described by his nephew, J. J. Gurney (quoted in *The Journal of Hannah Chapman Backhouse*, 1858, p. 94):

> Truly he was a man in *good liking*, of a handsome build, both of body and mind, a right agreeable companion, fraught with amiable tempers, sound intellectual powers, playful good humour, and above all, deep humble piety. He was withal no man's copy. A man of striking integrity and independence of mind who always thought for himself, and when any proposition or sentiment was uttered by his companions, he was sure enough to examine the other side of the question and picked out the weakness of many a plausible notion. He generally wore a smile, and knew how to laugh; his cheerfulness did credit to his religion, and was the happy ornament of that settled seriousness which ever dwelt within. He had read considerably and observed largely and acutely, so that his conversation seldom failed to be informing. His ministry was delivered in great brokenness. It was lively and refreshing, original, frequently presenting some new train of thought for the instruction of his hearers. . . . Many were they who loved him dearly and honoured him faithfully, and his memory will not perish.

Joseph Gurney Bevan (1753-1814), the "cousin Joe" of the *Letters*, was son (apparently the only child) of Timothy

and Hannah Bevan, of London. Hannah Bevan (1714-1784) was the widow of Nathaniel Springall (1699-1741), and daughter of Joseph and Hannah (Middleton) Gurney), hence aunt of the Joseph of the *Letters*, and her son, Joseph, his first cousin. J. G. Bevan is known to Quaker history as the solid, sober Friend and has been called by a contemporary "our chief disciplinarian"; we have in these letters an insight into the earlier and lighter side of his life. In 1776 he married (*s.p.*) Mary Plumstead (1751-1813) and in 1794 he retired from business as chemist in Plough Court. He was an Elder and Clerk to the Y.M. in 1794. His wife was a Minister. He was "a sound writer and classical scholar" (*Jnl.* xv. 13). He wrote a life of the Apostle Paul and also of James Nayler, Isaac Penington, Sarah Stephenson and Robert Barclay. He edited the tenth part of *Piety Promoted* and wrote, in 1790, for the Meeting for Sufferings, *A Summary of the History, Doctrines and Discipline of Friends*, a pamphlet which passed through some fourteen editions in English and was issued in French, German, Italian and Spanish.

A curious view of his character may be found in *Jnl.* xix. 27. See also vols. ii, viii, xvi, xvii, xviii; *Biog. Cata. of London Friends' Institute*, 1888; Memoir in *Letters and Writings*, edited by Josiah Forster, 1821; etc.

I

Norwich 25th 1st mo 1772.

Dear Cousin

I shall begin this morning to work in the compting house, but at present they cannot find any thing for me to do; therefore I thought I could not employ my time before breakfast better than in writing thee.

My Uncle Edmund,[2] who I suppose thou hast heard has been troubled with the gout, is much better, so that he attended meeting both morning and afternoon, tho' he seemed to limp a little as he came in.

Soon after I was arrived here J. Oxley[3] came in, and the first thing he spoke to me about was the not answering his last letter, but I told him I thought it was not worth answering, & that it was a heap of scandilous nonsense, &

what was worse it was rediculing the Scripture, since which he has not mentioned it, for I believe he was ashamed.

My Brother[4] proposes my learning italian, as there is a very cleaver man in town, an Italian by birth, who teaches several young gentlemen here, & among the rest Dr Manning. I hope notwithstanding the italian I shall have opportunity to pursue my latin, but as yet I have not had time to look over my books, for I have been very much engaged in visiting with my companion, & we spent two or three day's at Matishall where we found all very well.

With dear love I remain sincerely
Thy affectionate cousin
Jos : Gurney.

2

Norwich 1 2/mo 1773.

Dear Cousin

I think there is a great reformation in the wigs not only of M. Reeves's (as thou mentionest) but also of my Bro' Johnny's[5] who to our great surprise generally puts it on quite strait, tho' no doubt with some trouble to himself & I am glad to hear Celia is well. I wou'd have thee repress thy wrath as much as possible for no doubt in the way my Brother and I am going on in learning we shall arrive at that height, in wch thou wilt bear no comparison with us, not even if thou learnest Greek & Welsh. I note thy dose & approve it very much even more than my favorite Senna (as thou cal'st it). I am sorry to acquaint thee Cousin Benjamin Gurney[6] is dangerously Ill so that he is not expected to live this day out. My Brother John desires thee to return the orders for Tozer's Dividend when fresh shall be sent. With our united love

I remain,
Thy affectionate Coz
Jos Gurney.

3

Norwich, 22d 2/mo. 1773.

Dear Cousin

I have not had lately an opportunity of answering thine, being engaged on a sporting expedition with my Brother

John at Oxborough from whence we returned last 7 day being very well satisfied with our diversion. I wrote some time ago to Fr[d] Hodgkin[7] but not having receiv'd an answer think there may be a mistake in the direction & that he may be removed from Clapton which I should be oblidged to thee to enquire & acquaint me in thy next.

Thy argument for my not learning Italian before I have perfected myself in the Latin language seems to bear very little weight with my Brother as I have already begun, & hope in less than a year to be a tolerable master of it, for having some notion of the Latin & French (from which the Italian seems to be mostly derived) it is very easy to be acquired. My Brother John likewise is taught French by the same man, & he is now so full of it that he can hardly talk to any body without coming out with some French word or other, by which thou mayst see we are all going to become remarkably learned.

Thy affectionate Coz[n]

Jos: Gurney.

[In another hand on the same paper as the preceding.]

I will acknowledge thine reced to Day very soon. I wrote thee from Oxborough.

D[r] Joe

I open'd this to say something but have quite forgot what. On my return last night I met several Letters amongst which was one from thee. I was glad to see once more the hand writing tho the subject was trifling.

Good Moidores pass here currently but light ones good People cannot pass.

A Catalogue of Grievances:

No account yet of the purchase of Scott & Paul's Stock.

No dividends reced from Tozer or Mendez.

No transfer made of Jollins's Stock.

No account from my Bro[r] Rich[d] of the Sundrys you debit us for as paid Tim Bevan he having lost or mislaid the same.

too much bad money in the 600 Guineas which must be returned.

too little time to say more than what thou knows already vizt. that I am most cordially thy af[tte] Cousin

J G. [John Gurney]

4

Norwich 6th Febr 1774.

Dr Cozn Joe

T'is a very disagreeable thing to see another person busily employ'd & not have any thing to do oneself, especially at 11 o'clock at night, when the drowsy God generally begins to be active in dispersing his drowsiness amongst Mortals—t'is therefore purely in Compassion to myself that I now write thee, my Broth John being on the opposite side of the table writing, thou may'st guess where. I make no doubt but thou rejoicest heartily as well as myself at the Cause of his being thus engag'd.[8] I must confess it was not a very great surprise to me to hear of it, having strongly suspected it long since, & when in thy last letter thee mention'd thy walking solus with Betsey,[8] it then pass'd into my head how my Brot was employ'd, because, thinks I to myself, Joe Bevan & he went together to the Hill & finding it a proper opportunity he propos'd a walk to Betsy, in order to leave them to themselves, wch I find since by my Bros was a true suggestion. Having fixed matters here he proposes setting off again next fourth day as I suppose he will tell thee. Now this I think is doing it in good earnest & setting about it like a Man, & not like one who is asham'd of what he is about.

There seems at this juncture a very propitious Gale wch blows Cupid's darts into our Family & takes off, both the middle aged & young. I wish Cozn Joe thee would embrace this favorable opportunity for it may be some time before it blows again,—tho' perhaps thee waits for a more Calm season, & when there is not so much running harum scarum up & down from & to London. I can asure thee it breads such confusion, that I was forc'd this evening to go hunt for a supper & at last found one at Cozn Springall's[9] being turn'd out of our own house on account of secret engagemts here—my Brot has done therefore I now subscribe myself

Jos Gurney.

5

Norwich, 20th Apl 1774.

Dear Cozn Joseph.

I suppose by the time this letter reaches London thou wilt have seen the Travellers G. Newnham & Bland who set out from hence yesterday, I suppose they arriv'd safe at

London unless the vivacity of the former urges Tommy[10] beyond the Strength of his constitution & gives him the head-ach. G. Newnham is a very clever young fellow, & if thou hast a mind to divert thyself with contemplating the starry regions, he will be an agreeable Companion for thee, as he has made astronomy his great Study.

We expect he will return to this City soon after Yearly-Meeting. I wou'd advise thee when that is over if thou canst not make it convenient to come & see us in these parts, to retire to some other part of the Country for a day or two, for after the hurry & bustle w^ch^ of consequence attends that week, a rural side wou'd be very pleasant, it wou'd not only cause thee to enjoy more fully nature in her rudest form, but wou'd give the mind an uninterrupted scope, to contemplate on the good things that must both be heard and experienc'd in that most solemn assembly. I believe it's impossible for thee to enjoy the Country more than I do,[11] for tho' I go to Keswick every night, yet in the day time, I am engag'd in Business here at Norwich. I make it my general Custom to take a walk in the evening & often am much delighted, by setting on a Stile & hearing the different voice of each animal, w^ch^ when the serenity of the evening will permit one may hear very plainly, the bleating of sheep, the mooing of Oxen, the Cawing of Rooks, the singing of Birds & various others, which forms a most delightful Concert, I am sometimes ready to wish the Sun wou'd be long[er] asetting that I might enjoy that enchantment (for I can call it nothing else) much longer.

I remain,
Thy Affectionate Cousin
JOSEPH GURNEY.

6

Norwich 18^th^ June 1774.

Dear Coz^n^ Joe

I sent yesterday young Jn Margetson off for Hackney according to orders with master *Bobby*, his new Sdle & Bride [Saddle and Bridle]. I have been frolicking about all last week, first going to Yarmouth, & then to Newmarket with Bro^t^ & Sister, & for that reason have been oblig'd to stick by the Stuff this week pretty closely, so that I have not

had an opportunity of writing thee before, otherwise I wou'd have done it.

Our Yearly-meeting[12] approaching we have left the Country & are going to enjoy the sweets of the City for next week, by which time I am persuaded I shall be heartly tired of it, for of an evening it appears so horribly dull, it being day light at 8 or 9 o'clock, w^ch^ I do not like in the City, for if one goes to take a ramble, instead of the melody of the feather'd songsters, one hears the Cry of *New Oysters* or *hot mutton pyes*, from the harsh throat of a hoarse lung'd old Fellow,—now if it was Candle light & in the Winter one might step into a fr^ds^ house & enjoy social Conversation over the Fire side, but the Summer in my opinion is more the time from Contemplation without than Chit chat within.

The yearly meeting to all appearance will be very small as, I don't know of one being come yet to Town, neither do we hear of any strangers being likely to be here except Jo^s^ Procter[13]; for R^t^ Willis[14] [I] find does not come as he first intended.

I am surprised at thy ignorance of the note of nightingale, its somewhat like that of the Blackbird tho' much finer & softer, however, if thou hast a mind to hear him, transport thyself by some means to Keswick one evening, & I'll warrant he'll wellcome thee there.

The Frank[15] is now doing up therefore I conclude
assuring thee that I am
Thine Sincerely,
Jo^s^ Gurney.

7

Norwich 24^th^ Aug 1774

D^r^ Coz^n^ Joe

I have just about 25 minutes to spare before I go to Milend to dinner with some other young men, w^ch^ time I intend to employ in writing thee, & to acquaint thee that my Bro^t^ John desires I wou'd send my Horse for thee to ride whilst he has thine, w^ch^ I shall with the untmost readiness comply with. He is a long lean Beast & very much of the same sort as Don Quisote's Rosinante except in this particular, that whereas Rosinante never gallop'd but once, this my Horse is very fond of it. I wou'd have thee take particular pleasure in riding him, considering that thy dear Coz^n^ Joseph has mounted him *many a good time & oftens*—

he will leap over either Gates or Hedges or Ditches wch I know thee likes when thee rides out.

Thou hast not wrote me of some time tho' I believe by the rule of right thee ought to have done it first, however, as that is very immaterial betwixt us I wish to have one from thee soon, as I dearly love to receive letters tho' I am not very fond of writing them. We have had down here a *bright* youth from your parts, that is to say Jn Owen. I took a little round with him when he was here we went to yarmouth & from yarmo to Walsham & from there to Norwich, he seem'd to enjoy it with as much relish as a stone wou'd. I think t'is one of the most provoking things in the world, not to have ones Companions partake of the enjoyment wch we ourselves feel, but to answer to every thing with *it's very well*, or *as you please*.

I am now called to depart wth one of my Companions, therefore must take leave & assure thee that [I am]

Thy Affectionate Cozn,

Jos. Gurney.

8

Brighthelmston,

19th Sept.

Dr Cozn Joe

This is (as thou mays't perceive) a very dirty sheet of paper, but my Brot John says it's good enough for Joe Bevan therefore in pursuance of his opinion I shall proceed, & acquaint thee that it's a very wet and disagreeable afternoon wch is the reason of my staying within, & having nothing better to do I shall begin writing to thee.

By the date of this Letter thou may'st know where we are, having taken our leave of Tunbridge last 6th day, after dinner, we came to Lewes that evening where we lodged at a very grand Inn the sign of the Star. Lewes is a neat Town the entrance of which is very romantic being guarded on each by a high clift. The first houses that present themselves to our view, are a set of poor old Cottages, whose Inhabitants seem cheifly employ'd in cultivating the Earth & whose smoaky dwellings give one rather a poor idea of the Town, but then when one assends the Hill there are a variety of very good Shops & handsome Houses. In this uper part of the Town, on a high Hill, stands an old ruinated

Castle, from whence may see a delightful prospect, on the one side a vast extent of a beautifully fertile Country, & on the other a barren one, yet agreeable variegated with green Hills wch afford Pasturage for many flocks of Sheep.

On our return from visiting this Castle the Coach & Horses were all ready for us to set off for this place, it being near ten o'Clock, so paying our reckoning we proceeded on our Journey & arrived here about eleven, & went to the Castle Inn, wch is a nasty, dirty, filthy place. Our first business was to seek out for Lodgings, therefore we all sallied forth, our Landlady none of the neatest, being our guide; the first house we look'd at was that of a whimsilah old Maids, & a very whimsical one it was, I don't know how to describe it to thee, but I suppose the old Lady was so remarkably taken with the appearance of the Waves of the Sea that she made the Cieling very much to resemble them, but so low, it was scarsely high enough for one to walk under, therefore examining the house from bottom to top, & finding it not convenient we departed from it, & at last fixed on a small one upon the Clifts from whence there is a fine prospect unto the Sea, & in wch I am now writing this letter.

We find Cozn Priscilla Barclay[16] & her 2 fair attendants quite finely & in good Spirits. Yesterday being first day we went to meeting, both forenoon and afternoon, therefore cou'd not enjoy much of their Company only walking with them on the Stein between meetings, but this morning it being very fine we took a most agreeable ride in 2 whisky's we hired, Lucy, Sister, & Brot in one, & Betsy & myself in the other;[16] we went to Rotten Dean about four miles, distant, a place not very remarkable for anything except the pleasant ride to it, wch is by the Sea Side, upon the Clifts, & over some delightful Downs.

Now wch our united dear Love, I remain, in the dark

Thy affectionate Cozn

Jos Gurney.

9

Norwich 8th Oct. 1774

Dr Cozn Joe.

We are all most heartily rejoic'd at the recovery of our Frd Catharine, & sincerely wish the continuation of Health & Happiness may attend her.

I have the pleasure to acquaint thee that my Bro^{t} has in great measure recover'd the fatigue of *that* Journey from London, he went to Yarmouth last third day, but return'd yesterday in order to be at the meeting for nomination of Candidates, it held but a very little while, & my Bro^{t} happen'd to be rather too late, therefore it was attended wth no bad consequences to him, w^{ch} I was afraid the heat & noise of the people wou'd have occasion'd. He goes back today where he intends to continue till he finds himself mended.

As these subjects are uppermost in my mind they naturally come first, therefore having finish'd them I shall proceed to some more trifling & in the first place acquaint thee that I deliver'd according to orders the letter that was inclos'd in thine, & desire thee woul'd in future inclose all such letters to me that they may be deliver'd without molestation.

There will be no opposition this year against our old members, Bevor having no intention to stand w^{ch} I don't like, not from any political reasons, but that I should like once in 7 year at least to see a little bustle. Here's Tom the Postman now waiting for this w^{ch} I'm almost asham'd to send as it's so short, however it may be the sweeter for it, so wth love &c., I remain,

Thy affectionate Coz^{n}
Jo^{s} GURNEY.

10

Norwich 24th Nov^{r}, 1774.

D^{r} Coz^{n} Joe

I received thy letter just as I was going out wth my Bro^{s} Richard to Hempsted. I never was before in that part of the Country, & was very much surpris'd to see such a very rich fertile Country in the County of Norfolk, w^{ch} in general is look'd upon to be barren & marshy. On a Hill just past the Earl of Buckingham's, there is a prospect, w^{ch} altho' it is not certainly so extensive, yet I think it comes up in richness to almost any I saw either in Kent or Sussex, the beauty of it's large Woods together with the addition of water renders it extremely agreeable, one sees from it several Gentlemens seats peeping out between the Woods, & the Cottages below, seem to denote the arbitrary sway wth wich these gentlemen govern them ; the day being very

wet when we went, the Pheasants (of w^ch^ there are incredible quantities) cou'd not keep in the Covers, but were sprinkled like so many Chickens all over the Fields, & I am sure I speak in moderation when I say I saw upwards of 150 brace in one large Piece, an enchanting sight for a Sportsman! Oh how Dan^l^ Bells[17] fingers wou'd itch to be at them, he talks a great deal of coming down to see us, but has not yet been, I wish he wou'd come & my Bro^re^ wou'd carry him into the Country I have been speaking of where he might shoot till he cou'd no longer hold his gun. Suppose, Coz^n^ Joe, thee invites him to come down along with thee & visit us now we are got once more into our Winter's habitation, which Circumstance I am very much pleas'd with, as the evenings begin to grow desperately cold & long, & very disagreeable to ride over to Keswick in, besides there is a robbing about us, as I suppose thou hast hear'd of that daring one w^ch^ was committed on Coz^n^ Wright[18] at between 3 & 4 in the afternoon. As this is a very uncommon Case here, it has served as a good Story for many old Gossips, & having pass'd thro' many hands, has met Corrections & Editions as usual.

I heard some time ago that our old Master Jn^o^ Revoult[19] was in Exeter Gaol, his long imprisonment is certainly some atonement for his transgression but I am afraid since he has once tasted the vicious life, he will when he is set free again, instead of regaining his Character by proper Conduct, fall into the same wicked line, however, we will hope for the best, & as he has experienc'd the Punishments of a Gaol, he may for the future be urg'd to avoid them by some laudable employ.

Only think of Uncle Bland, his Sally[20] begins to look upon him with a Sparkling eye, & does not seem to have lost any flesh by the dart of Cupid, but rather I think the dart is of a fatning nature. Uncle looks finely & when in each others Company there are many Sighs & shy glances fly from one to the other. My Bro^t^ Richard receiv'd the other day a humorous Playbill from London hadst thou any hand in it.

Andrews Reeve departs from hence tomorrow.

It's now late & I am going to sup with H. Kett therefore have not time to look over what I have wrote, but Concluding it will do I remain

Thine Etc.,
Jo^s^ GURNEY.

11

Norwich, 30 Decr 1774.

Dr Cozn Joe

I should have been very glad to have heard from thee before this time but since it has not been convenient, I am determined not to break off the acquaintance & therefore (tho' I have nothing to say) I shall endeavour to scribble out a short letter & not wait the formality of an answer.

Cozn Robert will set out tomorrow, on his way to London, my Bror John & myself I believe shall accompany him as far as Livermore, in order to purchase a horse. I shou'd suppose by all appearance the World, as no angry looks seem to be thrown out against him.

If my Sister[21] shou'd run away from us, we shall miss her very much, as she is the chief Life of the family, & it is most likely our faces will drop at least one Inch on her departure. I think it seems likely that I shall be, in a short time left solus with my Mother ; however, I shall be very well contented with it, & wish heartily it may be so. I am sorry to find Catharine has not entirely got rid of her most disagreeable complaint. By what Aunt Barclay said we were in hopes she was got quite well under the management of her Aunt Priscilla,[22] however I hope the approach of spring will entirely reinstate her. I wish thee Joy at being an Uncle & hope very soon thee will have to Congratulate me on the same subject. My Sister[23] looks nobly & is at present in perfect health, the Casting up is much hastened in order that all things may be clear against the arrival of the young stranger.

Our loves attend you all, & I remain

Thy affectionate Cozn

Jos Gurney.

12

Norwich 27th Jany. 1775.

Dr Cozn Joe

This day was our Monthly Meeting, & my Aunt & Tommy[24] for the first time pass'd, I believe to general satisfaction, tho' she spoke very low. We all sup at my Aunt's this evening, after which Tommy will lodge at our house, as, according to the good order of our Society, it seems meet that the *young people* shou'd not both lodge in the same

House. This seems an odd Custom, but I suppose our forefathers, foreseeing that disgreeable consequences might happen, from the violence of *youthful* passion, thought this a necessary Caution.

We are very glad to find Cozⁿ Springall's again reinstated amongst us ; their long absence seems to have answer'd the desir'd effect of reestablishing Health to David & Martha,[25] but, as a damp to the Joy of their coming home, Richenda is taken ill with the Mumps, by the name it appears a laughable disorder, but in it's effects very disagreeable as she has been very poorly with it for upwards of a week and still continues to be so. They thought L. Bell[26] was likewise going to have it, but happily it vanish'd in thought.

We expect the 2 Robᵗ Barclay's[27] down tomorrow or the beginning of next week. I suppose in Complisance to my Broᵗ thou coulds't not come wᵗʰ them, or otherwise thy having made a third ᵗʰ wou'd have been very agreeable, however, I hope thee will come to pay us a visit when my Broʳ returns.

I have no inclination to write any farther, therefore, I conclude in the first place signing

Thy affectionate Cozⁿ

Joˢ Gurney.

(*To be concluded*)

NOTES

[2] For Edmund Gurney the younger (1723-1796), see *Jnl.* xvii, xviii. He was uncle by marriage (and also otherwise related), his first wife being Martha Kett, half sister of Elizabeth Kett, mother of the writer of the *Letters*. E. Gurney's third wife was Priscilla Bevan, half sister of Joseph Gurney Bevan.

[3] This was, probably, Joseph Oxley, b. 1748, son of Joseph and Elizabeth, of Norwich. Joseph, Senr. (*c.* 1714-1775), after passing through a period of indifference to religion, was aroused to better things by a narrow escape from death by crushing in a crowd, in 1739, he being small of stature. He became a Minister of some note. (*Journal*, 1837.)

[4] " Brother " here may refer to Richard Gurney (1742/3-1811), who inherited and enlarged the Keswick estate, and by his first wife, Agatha Barclay (1753-1776), daughter of David Barclay of Walthamstow (d. 1809), was the father of Hudson Gurney (1775-1864), F.R.S., F.S.A., M.P. By his second wife, Rachel Hanbury, he was father of Elizabeth who married her first cousin John Gurney of Earlham, *s.p.*, and of Anna Gurney (1795-1857), the Saxon scholar and sailors' friend, of Northrepps Cottage, Cromer. (See *The Friend* (Lond.), 1857.)

[5] " Brother John " was the second son of John Gurney of Keswick, who became known as John of Earlham (1749-1809). In 1775 he married Catherine Bell, daughter of Daniel Bell, of Stamford Hill and had twelve

children whose lives have been made famous by Augustus J. C. Hare in his volumes on *The Gurneys of Earlham*. He was not such a strong character or so good a Friend as his brother Joseph, but Percy Lubbock is hardly fair to his memory when he writes of him in his book *Earlham*, 1922, p. 35 : " He was a worthy and not an interesting man. All his history is that he married the charming Gainsborough lady, Catherine Bell was her name, and that his affairs prospered far enough to enable him to plant his family at Earlham in 1786. He seems to have sat in the background placidly till he died."

In the *Memoirs* of his son, J. J. Gurney, he is described as " abounding in kindness to all, uniting remarkable activity both in public and private business, with an acute intellect and extensive information."

There is reference here to " Johnny's " wig—it is said in *Gurneys of Earlham* that John had bright, red hair, and that one day, being jeered at by urchins for having " a bonfire on the top of his head," he went in disgust and had his head shaved and took to a wig.

The picture by Gainsborough represents Catherine Bell (just prior to marriage in 1775), her elder sister, Priscilla (who married Edward Wakefield in 1771), and Edward Wakefield.

[6] Benjamin Gurney (1717-1773), of St. Augustine's, was a son of Benjamin and Sarah (White) Gurney (m. 1716). Benjamin, Senr., appears to have been a brother of Joseph Gurney who married Hannah Middleton.

[7] In *The Hodgkin Pedigree Book* there is mention of a Thomas Hodgkin, son of John and Susanna (Hitchman) Hodgkin, born in 1744, who married Anna ——— and had a son Arthur, who died young. He was appointed a master at Ackworth School in 1781 at a salary of £100 per annum " with apartments in the School for himself and wife, and had one of the domestics to wait upon them ; but the Committee had not foreseen the birth of a little Hodgkin, and were sorely perplexed, and appealed to the London committee for advice, who ordered the baby to be ' put out to nurse.' " Apparently this was the child who " died young."

" Thomas Hodgkin taught on both sides of the School till 1789 and was honoured by being appointed Treasurer (Superintendent) of the Institution in the temporary absence of John Hill in 1790 " (*History of Ackworth School*, 1879 ; *Teachers and Officers*, 1895).

T. Hodgkin was the means of the introduction of his nephew, John Hodgkin (1766-1845), to the Ackworth faculty as writing master.

Thomas Hodgkin is described above as " of London " and was probably the Friend named by William Forster, of Tottenham, in a letter, dated " November, 1773 " :

" The upper Clapton Company, its said, will be dissolved at Xmas, their present N° is now eight, several of them fit for Business. T. Hodgkin I believe, is undetermined what way to go into, tho' some have advised him to open School at Wandsworth, yet I rather think he'll not continue in this Employ " (Forster MSS. in **D**).

Perhaps, for the time being, T. Hodgkin assisted W. Forster with his school. There is in **D** a notice to the following effect, lithographed on a card, undated :

By
Forster & Hodgkin,
Youth are Boarded & Taught at Tottenham,
near London,
By the most improved Method render'd familiar
to the Capacity of a Learner.
N.B. And great attention paid to the Health and Morals of y^e^ Children
T. Hodgkin, Scrip^t^.

[8] John was writing to his fiancée, Catherine Bell, of Stamford Hill. "Betsy" was probably Catherine's sister who married John Hanbury.

[9] Springall of Norwich was an old East Anglian family. Nathaniel (1699-1741) was the first husband of Hannah Gurney, afterwards Bevan. The family here referred to, and in Letter 12, was that of Nathaniel, Junr., who married Richenda Barclay, daughter of David, of Cheapside. See Springall chart in Lilian Clarke's *Family Chronicles*, 1910.

[10] Thomas Bland (*c.* 1740-1818), of Norwich, was in the employ of Samuel Gurney in the Bank and was later a partner. It is stated in the *Annual Monitor* (1820, p. 6) that "his mind was stored with a great variety of accurate information. He contributed largely to *The Gentleman's Magazine*."

He was an Elder among Friends. He married Sarah (Lawrence) Gurney in 1775. See notes 20, 24. An abbreviated form of the first name was not uncommonly in use at this period. Its use did not imply any slight.

[11] J. G. Bevan was fond of the country; he wrote "Town Thoughts on the Country," 1792 (*Jnl.* xvi. 139).

[12] That is, the Circulating Yearly Meeting (for worship only) for the County of Norfolk.

[13] Joseph Procter (*c.* 1729-1809) was of Yarm, within the Q.M. of Durham. He travelled extensively in the ministry for about fifty-two years. His parents were Emanuel and Barbara Procter, of Clifford, near Thorp-Arch, Yorks.

[14] Robert Willis (*c.* 1713-1791) was "from the Jerseys," touring the British Isles as a Minister between 1770 and 1774. James Jenkins says Willis "was a man of extremely wild and rustic appearance" (Records and Recollections, p. 96).

Bulletin F.H.S. Phila. v. 59, 72; *Jnl.* xiii.-xvi.

[15] A "franked letter" was a letter bearing the signature of a member of Parliament, permitting it to pass through the post without fee. This privilege of M.P.s was withdrawn in 1840 on the passing of the Act that established Penny Postage.

[16] Perhaps, Priscilla, daughter of David Barclay, of Cheapside, d. unm.

The others mentioned in this Letter were probably daughters of Daniel and Katharine Bell of London.

[17] Daniel Bell (1726-1802) married Katharine Barclay, youngest daughter of David, of Cheapside. "Shooting was one of his delights, and he was always alluded to as greatly skilful in this charming diversion" (*The Bell Family*—typescript in **D.**)

[18] There is a Robert Wright in the Springall pedigree, who married Rachel Springall, brother of Nathaniel who married Richenda Barclay, daughter of David, of Cheapside.

[19] In *Jnl.* xix. 25 it is stated that John Revoult was buried (1811) as a non-member. Further light is thrown upon this in a letter from William Forster, of Tottenham (1747-1824), to his sister Elizabeth, 8 mo. 26, 1773:

"Jn° Revoult Wife (I was going to say Widow) died about two wks since at Samuel Barnes. Its tho't her husbands Ill Conduct hasten'd, he is still in England, but not known where."

It is now known that he was in gaol.

[20] "Sally" was Sarah (Lawrence) Gurney (1732-1800), at this time widow of Samuel Gurney (1723-1770), son of Joseph and Hannah and uncle of the writer of the *Letters*. She was at this time engaged to be married to Thomas Bland (note 10), she being about forty-two and he thirty-four. Her nephew refers to this engagement in Letters 4, 10, and 12 and finds amusement therein.

Samuel Gurney "was a paralytic, but his mind was so exalted his society was delightful (*Samuel Hoare*, 1911, p. 7). He had two children Sarah (1758-1783) who married Samuel Hoare (1751-1825) and Hannah who married Thomas Kett (-1820), of Seething (pedigree in *Samuel Hoare*).

[21] The only sister, Rachel (1755-1794), married October 2, 1775, Robert Barclay, of Bury Hill (1751-1830). They had fifteen children.

[22] "Aunt Priscilla"—Priscilla, daughter of Robert Barclay, of Cheapside.

[23] The writer's sister *in-law*, Agatha, wife of Richard (see note 4). Her son, Hudson, was born 19 i. 1775.

[24] Thomas Bland and Sarah Gurney were married early in 1775. They had one son, Michael (1776-1851), who, by his wife, Sophia Maltby, had a large family. He was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1816 (*Jnl.* vii. 45).

Sarah Hoare (1777-1856) frequently mentions her "grandmother Bland" in her memoirs of her father (*Samuel Hoare*). S. Bland was a Minister.

[25] The children of Nathaniel and Richenda Springall were Rachel, Priscilla, Martha (b. 1766), Rachel and David. David Springall married Christiana Bell, sister of Mrs. John Gurney of Earlham. They were first cousins "a marriage rather unapproved on this account. He was a Quaker bred and a singular character, but Chrissy was not as plain a Friend as he. They were obliged to be married in church" (Clarke, *Family Chronicles*, p. 45).

[26] "L. Bell" was Lucy "d. unm. although her suitors were many" (*Family Chronicles*).

[27] Of the two Robert Barclays one would be the writer's future brother in law, of Bury Hill.

"The Handsome Quaker"

This title has been given to Susannah Smith, of Bishops Stortford, Essex, born in 1723, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Smith, of Thaxted M.M., who married John Hoole (1727-1803), a non-Friend, 1757. Hoole was a poet and translator of Tasso. He also wrote a Life of John Scott, of Amwell, in 1785 (see Smith, *Cata.* ii. 551). There is a pedigree of Hoole in the *Transactions of the Hunter Archæological Society* for 1921.

Information from Christopher S. Watson, of Sheffield.

Love-making in Ireland

Cork, 4th Month 27th, 1825.

My dear cousin,

I FULLY intended to have written thee last evening to fulfil a promise which I made thee some time ago of writing as soon as I should take the momentous step of asking for a wife, but I found it almost impossible to do it in any reasonable time and really my mind was in such a state of agitation when I got home near 12 o'clock that I found it quite necessary to endeavour if not to quiet it by sleep at least to try what effect bed would have on me. I regret the disappointment less than I otherwise would as I have now thy very acceptable letter per Geo. B. to acknowledge receipt of, but let me commence by detailing the adventures of yesterday (the result of which may either tend greatly to increase my happiness or on the contrary to produce many uneasy feelings, I will not say *ruin my peace of mind*, perhaps that would be going too far, but tho' my expressions may not be of a very ardent nature, still I believe I should feel a refusal almost as much as many others).

Thou must know that I have had it in view to ask for Miss A., but Joshua's daughter's illness and death and afterwards Sally's illness made me not like to trouble him much on the subject, however I was determined before Tommy (who is gone to Dublin and likely to be away some weeks) left home to bring it to some conclusion. On his, Joshua's and my consulting together we fixed to bring the matter so far as asking to a close ; Joshua would have gone with me as *Spokesman* only for Sally's being so very poorly, and his just having buried little Debby; Tommy would have done it gladly if I would be satisfied to wait till his return but I thought it a pity to be losing so many weeks, so we fixed on asking Reuben Harvey to accompany me who readily consented and he mentioned to William on 1st day our intention of going down and wished to know what day

would suit their convenience. William said he would consult his Mother that evening and call on R.H. next day, he accordingly did so and appointed yesterday morning for us to go down. R.H. breakfasted with me and we set off at once after and arrived at the Cottage (which is a sweet spot) about ½ past 10. The Mother and William were ready to receive us and R.H. soon told his story. I was by but did not think it necessary to open my lips on the subject, nor indeed were there many words expressed by any of the party except R.H.'s tale. The Mother said it would require some consideration and the matter ended; we soon talked on indifferent subjects, walked about the garden, etc. I was expecting to get an opportunity of telling *my* story to S. but her *ladyship* did not think proper to make her appearance, altho' I ventured to ask her Mother for her. This discouraged me at the time, but from what R.H. told me on our return as well as many other persons I have heard speak on the subject, I am inclined not to look at it in such an unfavourable light, had we been intimate and I in the habit of visiting at the house then indeed her non-appearance would be an unfavourable symptom, but in this case I understand it is to be viewed in a different light. *However, at the time* it disconcerted me a little, tho' the reception I met with from both the Mother and William (particularly the latter) was more favourable than I had anticipated, indeed they seemed after a little while almost as free with me as ever, and from what they told R.H. who took an opportunity of speaking separately after the joint interview, I have reason to believe the matter will be almost entirely left to herself.

Some of the other branches of the family I have reason to think are favourable to it—Mary Ann and Eliza I believe are, and Paul told me last evening when I called on him that I had his most hearty concurrence and that he expected in future he would not have to be going to the Cottage on 1st days without company. He told me what I was rather surprised at that he had never spoken to herself nor she to him on the subject (the only one of the family which spoke to him about it was Mary Ann who I understood has always been favourable to me), so thou sees what a *close creature she is*. I ought to tell thee that yesterday morning week I went to Paul's to buy something (knowing S. was there as one of them take week about with him while Francis is

away) who asked me to stay to breakfast and I did so. She came to the shop not knowing I was there, and when she saw me first she started a little and blushed deeply, but after a while became herself again. I was *tête à tête* with her for some time before Paul could come into the parlour, and we got pretty free and had a deal of conversation.

Last evening I called on the Uncle Tommy to mention my visit to the Cottage, who received me *kindly, praised his niece for a good girl,* told me if she had no objection that he had none, which was quite as much as I expected from him—and this evening I rode down to wait on the Uncle Paul, who also received me kindly, told me he had not heard anything of it before, supposed it would be left pretty much to herself and that he was not unfriendly to me, and he would be glad if I rode down to breakfast with him some morning, etc., etc. All this was as favourable as I could have expected from him. I did not see his wife as she was ill in bed.

I must tell thee of another task I had to perform to complete the business on my part, and which was to write to her Aunts R. and M. to Dublin. I just mentioned that being precluded by distance from the *pleasure* of a personal *interview* I took that mode of informing them of *my doings* and hoped they would meet with their approbation. I enclosed the . . . letters of John Doyle to whom I also mentioned it, requesting he would deliver them to his Aunts, and also to mention the matter to his Mother, so thou sees what etiquette is considered necessary in these refined times. I did all with R.H.'s and Joshua's advice, and I expect it will *at least do no harm.*

Now for a meeting with herself. In this I must go by R.H.'s advice. He told me he would send a note to the Mother to say I had a wish to pay them a visit and see S. and hoped it would not be disagreeable to the family. If a favourable answer, or no answer at all, which may be looked on in the same light, come, I suppose I shall go down either to-morrow evening or the next, and after a visit or two I shall probably be able to give some guess whether my fate will be fortunate or otherwise, and if thou answer this soon I intend writing thee again on the subject, when I may have more leisure as well as inclination to answer some parts of thy letter which I think require a little explanation. With respect to the

request about destroying thy letters, I cannot make any objection after the way *thou hast treated mine*, without even mentioning it to me, *which was certainly rather more than I expected* and more than Jenny did to me, altho' I fancy the letters which she has of mine contain as many or perhaps more secrets than those thou had, but she still holds them altho' she has requested my leave to commit them to the flames, which after a little while I intend giving her. But I will not now say all I intended on this subject, but I cannot help saying I was surprised when I heard from M.I. *for the first time* that they had been burnt, and additionally so when I found by thy letters the only sensation it created was that of an amusing kind. This consideration will certainly make me think less of the act of destroying thine than I otherwise would. Count Rochefecault says all our actions proceed from selfish motives, and really I am half-inclined to be of his opinion.

I must conclude as I have not time to enlarge.

Thy very affectionate cousin,

JAMES CARROLL.

Taken from a typed copy of the original, kindly lent by Ernest H. Bennis, of Limerick, Ireland, grandson of the writer.

Ernest H. Bennis writes, 26 3. 23 :

" *Re* my grandfather's wooing. He was accepted, and married about 1826. He had five children, one of whom was my mother. It was a very happy marriage and he was a most devoted husband. His wife—Susannah, daughter of William Abbott—died in 1844 ; he lived till 1874, dying at the age of seventy-nine, so must have been born in 1795.

" James Carroll was a brother to Edward Carroll [for whom see *Jnl.* xiv, xv] ; ' Tommy ' was a cousin ; Thomas Carroll, a member of a well-known firm of land agents in Cork—Joseph Carroll & Sons ; ' Mary Ann,' ' Eliza ' and ' Paul ' were Abbotts ; ' Joshua ' and ' Sally ' were Joshua and Susan Lawe, who lived near the Abbotts at Glanmire, near Cork, and had a large flour mill there, driven by water."

Reflections on London Women's Y.M. 1826

dear Friend London 5th mo: 31st 1826.

Mary Fox[1]

I am desirous before leaving this place of addressing thee a few lines, hoping it may find thee and all belonging to thee well. The Letter thou kindly wrote to me some Months ago was very gratifying which I should have long ago acknowledged had I felt that I had any thing to communicate worthy thy attention. but I have been generally very low and poor. though I think favoured to discern something of a division between the Night and the day and sometimes a little grain of patience to wait in the former Season.

It has been a considerable effort for me to get up to attend this yearly Meeting but I believe it has been a Season of instruction to me. Various and large have been the testimonies of our Ministers, none more Striking than the labours of Sarah Grubb this morning, on the necessity of our being instant in prayer, at Grace Church Street, where was, I think, as large an Assembly as the House would contain. From better Qualified pens than mine thou wilt I believe receive an account of the transactions of this very large Meeting so I will not attempt going into them, beyond a remark or two perhaps.

The incessant rain which has fallen almost ever since the Meeting began, and the confusion of carriages and umbrellas and wet Cloaks and Clogs consequent, has been indescribable as they Strike a Stranger, tho' I expect to thee they would pass without Notice as things of course. I cannot but remark the beauty of numbers of our younger Sisters, many are indeed as to the outward polished after the similitude of a Palace as to the formation of their bodies, nor would I reflect without a feeling of regret, on the Characters a farther intercourse with the World and its leavening effects may impress on those lovely countenances/ yet unmarked by the lineaments of Sin and Sorrow/ that say the hand that made us is Divine.

I have been diligent in attending the Committees which have been interesting to me; much excellent Matter is contained in the 5 American Epistles,[2] but there is a certain

Phraseology adopted throughout all, to which I think Strength and plainness of expression has been Sacrificed. They are beautiful to read, abound with choice passages of Scripture well wrought in, but considering the variety of States and the Numbers who will hear them who have had little opportunity of Spiritual or Civil Education, I wish they had been more practical and more homely in expression. To a remark I made I was answered, Such and Such will not pass the general Committee ; we must give up So and so or we Shall perhaps lose much that we might otherwise preserve, and so I found, for as far as I am capable of judging, there is too much of a Critical Spirit and both our own Strength and that of the Epistles much weakened in searching for Niceties of Verbal expression which will hardly be rightly appreciated if understood by the remote inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere. on this subject Margaret Benson's[3] sentiments and mine are in perfect unison.

I expect thou would hear of the decease of John Bludwick.[4] Sister Phebe Chorley[5] had been some time assisting to nurse him and was with him to the last, of his peaceful close she gave an interesting account. Elizabeth[4] very feeble, awaiting her own as near at hand. I was informed a day or two ago from Mary Cropper[6] that they had a Notification that Willet Hicks[7] was coming to Liverpool ; if it should be the case I think we shall claim the sympathy of our friends for many were much oppressed in their minds by his frequent and long public communications before, the Savour of which remains yet with us. I wish he would make Bristol his Port this time. I am willing to believe we have had our Share of his company.

6th day morning 2d 6th Mo. The general Yearly Meeting closed last evening and in the very, very Short period of silence with which we were favored a precious and Solemn covering was felt, and I believe it would have been profitable if we had Sought more to this in this Y.M. and likewise that the feeling raised by reading many excellent Testimonies had been abode with and not immediately spread before the Meeting in long verbal communications.

Martha Smith[8] is very hoarse from Cold. I thought she looked very well until yesterday but an attack in her head during the Night had left great Sallowness/ if there is such a word/ in her visage.

I expect we Shall leave London for Warwickshire this Evening. Your names are often mentioned by your Friends in Liverpool and my Husband and myself desire a place in your remembrance and in united love to thee and thy dear Husband.

I remain thy affectionate Friend
MARGARET CROSFIELD.[9]

We are pretty soon intending to remove our abode to no. 1 Erskine Street, Islington. M.C.

Addressed :
Sylvanus Fox,
Wellington,
Mary Fox. *Somersetshire.*

NOTES

[1] Sylvanus Fox (1792-1851) and Mary Fox, *form.* Sanderson (1788-1846), of Wellington, Som., were noted Ministers locally and nationally. From letters sent to **D** by Margaret W. Fox, of Wellington, it is evident that their labours were much appreciated. Mary Sanderson was the first to accompany Elizabeth J. Fry to Newgate. Sylvanus Fox, when at Bath on health account as a young man, found an engagement to address a fashionable crowd in the Pump Room. (*Jnl.* x. 17, 104.)

For S. and M. Fox, see *Annual Monitor*, 1848, 1852 ; *Jnl.* xiv.-xvi.

[2] That is, epistles addressed to American Y.Ms.

[3] Margaret Benson, probably related to Robert Benson of Liverpool, whose house often received American Ministers on their arrival from across the sea.

[4] John Bludwick (d. 1826.85) and Elizabeth (d. 1828.80) were Friends of Warrington. The husband was in the station of Elder, and the wife was a Minister for some thirty years.

[5] Phebe Chorley (d. 1857.64) was a sister of Margaret (Chorley) Crosfield.

[6] Mary Cropper was probably the wife of James Cropper (1773-1840), of Liverpool. She died in 1831, aged 72.

[7] Willet Hicks was an American Minister, who had been in Europe before, in 1820. He was an adherent to the Hicksite party. See *Jnl.* xix. 2.

[8] This may have been the Minister of that name, of Doncaster, *form.* Ecroyd (1763-1832). There was a Martha Smith, of Liverpool, who died in 1844, aged 79.

[9] Margaret Crosfield (*form.* Chorley, *c.* 1787-1855) was the wife of George Crosfield (1785-1847), an Elder, of Liverpool Meeting. G.C. edited the *Letters of William Thompson* (d. 1817.23) in 1818, and the *Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill* in 1843. M. Crosfield was a Friend of decided opinions—in a meeting for worship, 1 vi. 1828, she " gave a few words of advice to young men, advising them to sit still in meeting, etc." (ms. Journal of Elizabeth Robson, Junr., in **D**) and in 1835 we are told that her " severe remarks " were recorded in the *Christian Advocate* (*Jnl.* xvi. 131).

Patience Wright, Wax Modeller

In volumes IV. and V. there are references to Patience Wright, *form.* Lovell (1725-1786). Among manuscripts recently received from Mrs. Vere O'Brien (*née* Arnold-Forster) is a copy of a letter from John Dickinson, of Philadelphia, to Mrs. Wright, as follows :

Madam,

I now gratefully acknowledge the Receipt of two Letters from you, and intreat you to pardon my not answering them sooner. The Business in which I have been involved by the unhappy Affairs of our native Country, and a great deal of Sickness, have occasion'd so long a delay in writing to you, which I hope therefore you'll be so good as to excuse.

I heartily thank you for the Intelligence you have been pleased to give me, and shall be obliged for as frequent a Correspondence as will be agreeable to you.

America now waits for the Decision of Great Britain resolved at every hazard to resist Force by Force, with a *probability*, at worst, a *Chance* for Success ; and, that, your Share of public Spirit must satisfy is better than the *certainty* of Poverty, Slavery, Misery and Infamy, that must overtake us and our Posterity by a tame submission.

Nothing less than an assurance of these Calamities falling upon us, and our Descendants, could have reconciled your loyal and dutiful Countrymen to the thoughts of bearing Arms, against the powers of our Sovreign & parent State. But the Schemes agitated against us are too evident for Men of the least Sense and Virtue to hesitate on the part they ought to take. Where our struggles will end, what strange Revolutions will take place, no human Creature can guess, if once the Sword is dipt in blood, for drawn it already is. For my part, I can only say, there are two points on either of which I shall esteem it my duty, when called upon, to lay down my Life. First, to defend the Liberties of my Country, against their meditated Destruction. Secondly, To preserve the Dependance of those Colonies on their Mother Country. May God Almighty bless and prosper her and them in a subordinate Connection with her, till Time shall be no more. I sincerely rejoice in the Success that has attended you in England. I have mention'd to several of my Brethren in Assembly, the propriety of sending for L^d^ Chatham's Bust, done by our ingenious Countrywoman ; But the public Distresses render them too inattentive to the fine Arts ; I will remind them of the Proposal at another Sessions.

I am with great Esteem
Madam
Your much obliged and
very humble Servant
JOHN DICKINSON.

Mrs. P. Wright
Pall mall
London.

Fair Hill Jany 30th 1775
(true Copy)

In letters from William Forster (1747-1824), of Tottenham, to his sister Elizabeth (originals belonging to Mrs. O'Brien) we read :

" 10th Month 7th, 1773.

" Patience Wright has been lately sent for by the King and was with him near two hours, they had a deal of discourse (she says) on politics &c & the distresses of the People, to which he seem'd to [torn at seal] she is now about his Figure."

"1st mo: 11th 1775

"I was [? went] to see P. Wright a few days since. She is still very warm against the ministry, yet conceives great hopes of a Change of them & consequently their measures soon as Parlt. sits again. She was then finishing her Fathers figure. He was a singular Character, a long white beard adorns his face which is very expressive, & not unlike Jn° Woolmans and a large white Hat [on] his head. She has done an Indian Man & Squaw in their proper Dress and Attitude extra: well, I think, also the D. of Glocester."

"2 mo. 24th 1776.

". . . the truly great and patriotic Col. Barré. I had seen his Figure at Wrights. I directly asked if she had not taken his Figure. He wonder'd I shou'd know him from it as indeed it was chiefly so; he thinks her a sensible Woman and if her Education had been equal to her natural Abilities, she wou'd have shone more eminently."

D.N.B. states that Patience Wright, when in London to which she removed in 1772, "acted successfully as a spy on behalf of Benjamin Franklin." She was often visited in her studio by Benjamin West. Her husband, Joseph Wright, died in 1769.

The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox"

Continued from vol. xix. p. 104

81.—Vol. II., pp. 153, 416.—"And before wee was marryed [G. Fox and M. Fell] I was moved to write foorth a paper to all ye meetinges in England." The note to this, on page 416, connects the "paper" with the document—"Friends fellowship must be in the spirit," etc. In *The Second Period of Quakerism*, p. 263, W. C. Braithwaite connects the "paper" with one referred to in *The Spirit of the Hat* (1673), p. 42, which was so "ill resented and so much disliked that it was called in again, and a rare thing it was to get a sight thereof." W. C. B. adds: "No doubt the one referred to in *Camb. Journ.* ii. 153 (correct note ii. 416, accordingly)." The note ii. 416 re *Canons and Institutions*, is however, valuable in itself and took some time to prepare.

82.—Vol. II., page 147.—*Lazy Hill* was a corruption of *Lazar's Hill*, so called because a leper hospital was erected there—a resort of pilgrims intending to embark for the shrine of St. James of Compostella, the patron-saint of lepers. The hill, which was afterwards levelled, occupied the end of Townsend Street, between Trinity College and the river. It was known as *Lowsy Hill* in the time of Charles I.—EDITH WEBB, Dublin.

83.—Vol. II., p. 451.—"The date of the death of Christopher Fox is not known, but it took place, probably, prior to the visit of Charles Marshall to Mary Fox in 1671". In a letter recently sent by Mr. Henry Hartopp, of Leicester, to Elizabeth B. Emmott, it is stated: "Christopher Fox appears to have died before 1664, for at Michaelmass that year Mary Fox was taxed in respect of one fire-hearth in her cottage at Fenny Drayton."

Friends in Germantown, Pa.

A BRIEF history of the two Friends' Meeting Houses in Germantown, Pa., has been written by Horace Mather Lippincott, of Philadelphia—*An Account of the People called Quakers in Germantown, Philadelphia* (Burlington, N.J.: Enterprise Publishing Company, 9 by 6¾, pp. 43, with seven illustrations).[1] The Coulter Street premises of Orthodox Friends (meeting house, school, and library) are first introduced and then those of the Hicksite branch in School House Lane. Many interested Friends of both branches receive notice.

Among School House Friends was Abraham Deaves, of whose sister, Priscilla, the following is narrated:

"In 1802, Priscilla became so absorbed in a case which came before the Meeting for discipline and took a long time for settling, that her mind became unbalanced when it was decided contrary to her judgment. She conceived it her duty to preach upon all occasions upon the text 'The Innocent Suffer while the Guilty go Free.' Friends continually remonstrated with her but to no avail, until positive action became necessary. When she arose as usual upon the succeeding First-Day and commenced her address, some of the women Elders gave the signal and two lusty men walked gravely to her side and cautioned her to desist, upon penalty of removal if she refused. As was expected, she took no notice of them but continued her sermon. Whereupon they quickly picked her up and bore her down the aisle to the door. During her progress she startled the congregation by exclaiming, 'I am more honored than our Lord. He was carried on the back of one ass, while I am borne on the backs of two.' It is needless to say that Priscilla was never allowed in the meeting again."

The Coulter Street School (established in 1845) was re-opened under Friends' management in 1858, originally for Friends' children, others being later admitted. "It has grown rapidly under Principals Susanna S. Kite, Samuel Alsop, Davis H. Forsythe, and Stanley R. Yarnall and it is reputed to be the largest private day school in the U.S., having in 1921, five hundred and seventy-four pupils with a faculty of forty-two. The Library had 35,163 visitors in 1920-21, and circulated 28,577 of its 33,201 books.

Prize-money Restored

The case of Dr. Edward Long Fox and his desire to return his share of the captures from the French by a vessel in which he had an interest, which sailed as a privateer, is well-known, but it is not generally known that there was a somewhat similar case in the life of Peter Yarnall, a Friend, by birth, of Philadelphia (c. 1753-1798).

Yarnall was a surgeon on board a privateer, early in 1779, and went on a cruising voyage to the West Indies. "He received a part of the prize-money obtained in this excursion and with the money he purchased a tract of land in New Jersey, yet [later] having experienced a thorough change of heart, he entirely relinguished this property and made an acknowledgement to the Monthly Meeting of Friends in Philadelphia which was accepted" (Comly, *Friends' Miscellany*, vol. ii. (1836), pp. 217, 221, 229).

[1] Copy presented to **D** by the Author.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D—Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Camb. *Jnl.—The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

D.N.B.—The Dictionary of National Biography.

Rancocas *John Woolman*—The Rancocas Edition of *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, edited by A. M. Gummere, Phila. and London, 1922.

LONG SERVICE. (xix. 64).—Elizabeth Estaugh (1682-1762) was clerk of Haddonfield (N.J.) Women's Monthly Meeting for upward of fifty-five years. (Jenkins, *Tortola*, 1923, p. 22.)

HANNAH DENT (x. 119, 127, xii. 177).—A few particulars respecting this Yorkshire Friend who went to America on a religious visit in 1732 are given in extracts from the minutes of Philadelphia M.M. printed in the *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. viii. (1922), no. 2, pp. 176, 178, 181.

"25 vi. 1732. Hannah Dent from Great Brittain on a religious visit to these parts sent to this meeting her Certificate from the Monthly Meeting at Richmond in Yorkshire."

"25 iii. 1733. Mary Nicholas had a concern to visit Friends in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. She intended to go in Company with our friend Hannah Dent."

"26 ii. 1734. Elizabeth Widdowfield's intention to accompany Hannah Dent to Long Island."

"28 i. 1735. Joseph Cooper & Hannah Dent declared their Intention of Marriage . . . his mother being present declared her consent and Hannah Dent produced to this Meeting a Certificate from the Monthly Meeting of Richmond at Chentry [*sic*] in Old England, dated the 7th fourth Month, 1734, with her Parents Consent."

"25 ii. 1735. Joseph Cooper & Hannah Dent appeared a Second time and declared they continued their Intentions of Marriage. Joseph produced a Certificate from Haddonfield Monthly Meeting."

"30 iii. 1735. A Certificate for our Friend Hannah Dent to Friends at Wensidel Monthly Meeting in Yorkshire . . . was read."

This last was, presumably, what is known as a "returning certificate," which a ministering Friend took home with him, but in this case Hannah Dent found a husband and a home in America.

Hannah Dent was a daughter of Robert Dent, of Wensleydale, North Yorkshire. Joseph Cooper (*c.* 1691-1749) was of New Jersey. Hannah was his second wife. She died in 1754.

Phila. *Memorials*, 1788; *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 31 (1858), pp. 61, 148.

CONSTANCE DE ROTHSCHILD AND SAMUEL GURNEY.—In *Reminiscences*, by Lady Battersea, 1922, p. 336, we read :

" My mother gave me a description of my introduction to Samuel Gurney at the early age of *three* [*circa* 1846]. The meeting took place at Brighton. Mr. Gurney, then a stout, red-faced, elderly gentleman, with a great shock of white hair, proceeded then and there to take me up and toss me in his arms, which I resented as a great familiarity, calling out lustily, ' Put me down, you old white bear ! ' to the consternation but silent amusement of my parents."

QUAKERS AND KILTS.—In the recently published *Private Diaries of Sir Algernon West*, who was so intimately associated with Mr. Gladstone, especially in 1892-4, on page 202, under date Sept. 27th, 1893, he writes from Blackcraig, Perthshire (where they were staying at Mr. Armitsted's) :

" Mr. Gladstone told us that Kilts were only introduced into Scotland early in the 18th century in this wise :

" The Highlanders until then only wore plaids, and, in smelting iron ore, nothing. The Quakers, who came in great numbers [probably as travelling Ministers], thought this indecent and devised the kilt." (Giving, as his authority, Captain Burt, author of *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland.*)

If you can find nothing to confirm this, perhaps you might mention it in the " Friends' Historical."–THEODORE GREGORY.

JOHN BELLERS AND JOHN CHEYNEY:—John Cheyney died 1722, leaving all his estate to his sons, John and Thomas Cheyney, except £5 which was to be paid to Cheyney Balderson in England. The two sons soon after this returned to England, presumably to their native parish, and on January 16th, 1724, John Bellers, of London, merchant, conveyed to John Cheyney and Thomas Cheyney, late of Middletown in the County of Chester, but now of Upper Lambourne in the Parish of Chipping Lambourne, county of Berks, England, 1,500 acres of land in Pennsylvania for £360. This land had been purchased from William Penn, perhaps as a speculation, and the owner had never come to settle thereon."—*Genealogy of the Smedley Family, 1682-1901*, by Gilbert Cope, 1901, p. 226.

QUAKER METHODISTS (xix. 63). —The quotation from Johnson Grant to which " A.G." calls attention, can only refer to the Quaker Methodists of Friars Green Chapel, Warrington. The title was afterwards exchanged for Independent Methodists, a much less distinctive name, still borne by the denomination. The first meeting was formed about 1797 and consisted of Friends and Methodists. The first chapel was built in 1802 at Friars Green. In 1806 a remarkable revival took place in which Lorenzo Dow, an American preacher, was prominent. The visit of the American left an enduring mark upon the religious life of England for one of its direct results was the formation of the Primitive Methodist Church. One would like to have a picture drawn by a sympathetic hand of this

historic revival. It began at Warrington and was carried through Cheshire to the borders of Staffordshire. Here at Mow Cop was held the famous open-air meeting which marked the origin of Primitive Methodism, the first preacher at which was Peter Phillips, of the Warrington Quaker Methodists.

Johnson Grant is correct in his account of the origin of the Quaker Methodists, and of the "broad brims and jockey bonnets" which marked their Quaker "extraction." The rest is obvious and bitter exaggeration.—ARTHUR MOUNFIELD.

Rev. F. F. Betherton, of Sunderland, refers to information respecting the Quaker Methodists to be found in the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vol. 6, p. 121, also to Arthur Mounfield's *Short History of Independent Methodism*, 1905. Notices of this *History* have been received from Robert Muschamp and others.

ANECDOTES.—An elderly Friend, sitting one evening in front of his house, from where he could see his kitchen garden, saw a man he knew get over the wall, and go to a row of fine peas, from which he filled a basket. Our Friend did not speak, or interfere in any way, and the man again got over the wall and went home.

Later in the evening the Friend —carrying a parcel under his arm —went down to the man's house, knocked at the door, and asked if Thomas were within, and on his appearance, said, "Oh! Thomas, I have brought thee a piece of fat bacon, which thee will find to go very well with those peas."—EDWARD DOWNHAM, *Parkstone Heights, Dorset.*

A special week-night meeting was being held in the Meeting House, Kendal, at Isaac Sharp's request. This was just after the change had been made under which Friends sat together irrespective of sex. Thinking that Isaac Sharp might be rather puzzled by what he would find when he entered the Meeting House, I said to him, "Don't be surprised if thou finds men and women Friends sitting together. They sit higgledy piggledy now." He made no comment, but after a minute or two walked up the centre aisle to take his place in the Ministers' gallery. I was acting as sidesman and showing people to their seats, and, walking down the central aisle towards the door, met Isaac Sharp, who very solemnly stopped me, and addressing me by name, said, "Canst thou tell me whether I am higgledy or piggledy?" This was said without a smile and he at once resumed his dignified course to his seat.—GILBERT GILKES, *Kendal.*

Paul Abbott lived at Marys Abbey, near Youghal, in the south of Ireland. In the troublous times of the Napoleanic wars, he was bringing a cargo from the Continent, when his ship was captured by pirates. Asked if he had anything to say, he answered that he was "Paul—Abbott—of Mary's Abbey—Youghal." The pirate thought that such a holy man had better not be interfered with, so he arrived safe at Youghal with his goods.—ERNEST H. BENNIS, *Limerick, Ireland.*

Passed for press 19 June, 1923.

Vol. XX. Nos. 3 & 4 1923

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editor: NORMAN PENNEY, LL.D., F.S.A.
Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2

For Table of Contents see page two of cover

THIS issue of our magazine closes the publication work connected with volume xx. Subscribers have received during the currency of the volume:

Vol. xx., parts 1 and 2	pages	100
Supplement no. 13	,,	114
President's Address, 1923	,,	36
Vol. xx., parts 3 and 4	,,	48
Total pages ..		298

The Editor hopes to include in volume xxi. (which will probably appear in the autumn) the following articles:

George Fox and Sixteenth Century Bibles, by Henry J. Cadbury, Cambridge, Mass.

The Brewin Brothers, of Cirencester.

Benjamin Kaye at London Y.M., 1787.

More Quaker Stories of the Rising of 1745.

Extracts from the Diary of a London Apprentice of 1767-8.

Further Quaker Incursions into Family History: Fincham of Norfolk and Suffolk; Ashby of Bugbrook.

An Eventful Y.M. Sunday, 1846.

Letters from Joseph Gurney to Joseph Gurney Bevan

Concluded from page 84

13

Norwich 20th Feby 1775

Dr Cozn Joe

Thy fear of losing the frequent correspondence of my Bror John on account of the happy engagement wch I hope he is likely to enter into perhaps may be well founded, yet I think however he may domesticate himself when his heart is fixed at home, he will not enter into that ease & idleness as entirely to lay aside the thoughts of his Frds in Middlesex, but will, (tho' perhaps not so frequently) deign to write thee, a batchelor. As to thy other Correspondent (supposing thee means T. Kett[28]) I suppose there is little reason to be afraid of losing him as yet, his Mistress being so young that t'is hardly probable they will be united in less than a year or two, tho' he seems to stick very close to her, & wherever she goes, (if he can) he attends her. They yesterday afternoon drank tea at our house, & by the particular notice he took of her there seems no doubt but he is in earnest.

I wish he may succeed as in my opinion they are quite calculated for each other, being brought up in much the same way—his education, certainly has been rather confin'd, tho' his natural disposition adapts him to society.

I am very glad to find thou art at last coming to see us, I hope thy stay will not be finished with the occasion of thy coming but that thou wilt not pretend to return in less than a month. We expect to see my Brot tomorrow, I hope to find him in good spirits, and that the present joyful thoughts of his Catharine may smooth the wrinkles on his brow, wch I am persuaded she was before the occasion of. My Sister Rachel is not yet quite recovered she has had again a slight return of the pain in her head & sickness . . . & I heartily wish there cou'd be found some remedy to relieve her, as it seems to depress her spirits. It must be something rather out of the common way to have an

effect on them as generally she has a happy flow, tho' it is remark'd & I believe very justly that those who are most elevated when in Health are the most depress'd when anything is the matter with them, for the mind of man is like the quick Silver in a Barometer, wch when it ascends very quick it generally brings fine weather for a few hours, & then Clouds arise, so that it descends as fast or faster than it ascended; on the contrary when it rises by degrees, & keeps rising till it reaches near the summit, then its a pretty certain sign of a Continuance of a Calm & serene time uninterrupted by storms or tempests.

I have often endeavour'd to find out wch is the most preferable state of mind, that wch fluctuates or that wch is serene; in regard to the first it enjoys pleasure with more extacy & pain with more depression, it excites strong feelings for the misfortunes of one's fellow Creatures, & likewise strongly partakes of the pleasure they enjoy. Now as to the latter it seems a state of insensibility, it's neither elevated by pleasure nor depressed by pain; the scale continually stands on a ballance, whereas in the former it moves up & down. However, in either the state of a clear conscience is always the happiest.

My Sister Agatha & her little one[29] are quite well, she was at Meeting yesterday since which they have both taken a ride in the Coach, but for want of Curiosity or something else slept all the way. . . .

thy affectionate Cozn

Jos Gurney[30]

14

Norwich 20th March 1775

Dr Cozn Joe

As thy last Letter consisted chiefly in messages I have only to say that I delivered them all to the person's to whom they were assignd, wth my accustomed politeness which thou knowest is very great in its way.

I receiv'd thy present of the whip, for which I am much oblidged to thee. It is generally approv'd by the knowing ones in this part of the Country, & has already been of use in persuading the Colt to do what he otherwise wou'd have denied—vizt To leap over a ditch wch he perform'd (after much resistance) with great activity.

I have been taken off from writing by my Sister Agatha who requested an arm of me, to walk to St. Georges, which will prevent my spending so much Ink as I otherwise shou'd have done in thy service, it being late, that I am in momentry expectations of hearing, ding, dong, dong, for the Letters, tho' upon recollection I believe shall send it by Parcell, & shall enclose in it one to my Bro[t] John, by which thou wilt find that my Sister is not quite so well as She has been, tho' I hope it will [not] be of material Consequence, as I believe it came from a little over fatigueing herself last seventh day at Keswick where we had a large route of young people.

Please to desire my Bro[t] not to be alarm'd if my sister does not write to him tonight as she has been engaged this afternoon at Coz[n] Wright's[18] who has been for several days poorly, but today She is somewhat better : her Case is very melancholly as She can enjoy nothing without the fear of being ill after it.

I shall write again soon to make up for this short epistle, so desiring to be kindly remember'd to Damsel, Tug, the black Cat, & all my old acquaintances in that way.

I remain

Thy affectionate Coz[n]

Jos Gurney

15

Norwich 28[th] March 1775

D[r] Coz[n] Joe

I am monstrous illnatur'd, & I'll tell thee the reason for it, w[ch] when done thou wilt not be surpris'd ; I am confin'd to the house with an intollerable purging which causes great pain & disturbance in that part, the great Philosopher Martinus Scriblerus calls the Kitchin of the Soul.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Expect my Brother John will reach this place before this letter reaches thee, therefore I shall not enquire how, when, where nor what about him nor his Catharine as it's most likely I shall hear enough of it when he arrives, yet I am extremely glad to find he has so near reach'd the Crisis of his wishes as to have the Credentials sign'd by his charming Mistress. I suppose he will be married about the time thee were laying out, when in Keswick.

It is true I did not in my last mention anything respecting our Uncle & Aunt Bland,[20] but, alas! poor things they are married, & the nine days wonder seems over. To be sure they continue in every respect the marks of *their youth* & I must confess it still appears diverting to see how very fond they are of each other, in company generally sitting hand in hand, with [fre]quent smiles & fond looks passing from one to the other which may be allow'd to a young Couple, but in People advanc'd I think it rather disgustful.

Thy Scheme of riding in the morning, I know by experience is very agreeable, being in the practice of it myself those people who lay abed till almost noon, lose, by far the most pleasant & healthy part of the day, for what can be more delightful, & more conducive to health, than to enjoy the melody of the Birds & the fresh air of a fine frosty morning which one cannot do in greater perfection than on horseback.

Jos Gurney

16

Norwich 27th June 1775

Dear Joe

. . . . . .

. . . . . In the first place then, I have to inform thee, that my Sister Rachel experiences already the good effects of dipping at the pool of Neptune she has pd her devotions 3 times, which will be all she will do for the present as we expect them home tonight, in order to stay over the yearly meeting,[12] after which my Mother & Sister will return, join'd I believe by Priscilla & Christiana.[31] I wish my Sister had not return'd from Yarmouth quite so soon, as I think she can hardly have had as yet sufficient proof of the certainty of bathing's being good for her Conplaints.

There is a Party of us going to set out on the tour of Norfolk[32] tomorrow morning—My Brot John & Sister being at the head of it, are join'd by Priss. & Chriss. & Richenda Springall of the females, & of the males are D. Springall & Lindoe,[33] & myself. Cozn Priscilla Wakefield,[34] Miss Whittaker & Hy Kett,[35] set out this morning in order to see Halsham, wch we must omit, as it's only to be seen on a 3rd day at which time my Brot & Sister set up for Company. We are all to

meet & join Company's at Houghton, as that is the principal object in our Tour, not allowing ourselves time to take the whole round, as we purpose being at home on 7th day at longest.

I was mentioning my Brot & Sisters setting up for Company—they began on first day evening & had about 17 in all, but, yesterday expecting a vast round, all the Chairs were lugg'd down from the Chambers & set in high order as many as cou'd conveniently in each parlour, & least there shou'd not be enough some were set in the Hall, both the Footmen were furnish'd with their waiters, & Tea & Coffee for abt thirty. Cozn Priscilla Wakefield was there to entertain the Company with her Conversation. After waiting some time the first who made his appearance [was] John Woodrow[36] Junr &, unlucky Fate! behold he was the last. It was for him alone that Chance had ordain'd all those fine preparations. It put me in mind of the noble Knight's Drum, in Pompey the little, tho' it did not end to quite so much Satisfaction, as *no* Lady Bab Frightful arrived at last.[37]

My Mare Cozn Joseph is come up from Grass quite fat & fine & looks very handsome, has her limbs entirely at liberty & moreover is nam'd Fanny by the united approbation of a Company of the Fair Sect, met & assembled Keswick the 21st day of June 1775.

This puts me in mind of Eliza: Bell,[38] when thee sees her next please to give my——" what thee likes," to her & say that from her putting me off with one excuse or another from time to time I despair of receiving her present untill I see her again at London. It rains gloriously at this time. I am heartily glad of it, as all Nature will be refresh'd by it & it will lay the dust for us tomorrow

I remain as usual

Jos Gurney.

17

Norwich 14th Sept 1775

Dr Cosn Js

According to due form & order thee ought to have answered my letter long before this time, however, I can make an excuse for thee & suppose that accumulated engagements have prevented thee the writing me being the

least adapted to thy inclination it consequently gave place first. When this Cloud of engagements is a little dispers'd & thou seemest inclined to give up a few minutes for my satisfaction & amusement, spur on thy inclination & perform the task of pleasing willingly—to please others is certainly very pleasing, yet its natural to desire a more immediate pleasure shou'd result from it than the mere distant Idea of others being pleas'd ; this I suppose has been thy case & as thee found no other amusement in writing to me than merely because I wish'd for it, thou has not thought it worth the trouble to continue it. But think again, & let me share at least a small mark of thy affection which I can assure thee I very much covet.

I find thou hast been a fellow Sufferer or rather a fellow partaker of the accusations of Cozn Priscilla Barclay,[16] we may congratulate each other on being honourably acquitted. I wish heartily it was so with my good Sister Catharine, the unreasonable & most unjust opinion she has formed of her, has cost my Sister much uneasiness—if Cozn Priscilla had set & form'd all the frailties human Nature is Subject to, I don't think she cou'd possibly have pick out one more diametrically opposite my Sister's disposition than that which she accuses her of ; so far from being a slanderer, she is remark'd for excusing those who are ill spoken of. I don't find its yet made up but that no more is to be said about it, consequently an abominable cool indifference, ten times worse than a down right Quarrel, is to be supported on both sides using Compliments with [? no sincerity] at heart, & behaving Civil with the inclination to Quarrel. Such is my opinion of it, as I think it's impossible after such an accusation to be tolerable Friends without a full explination & agreement.

My Mother is much better & will I hope in a few days get about as usual.

Pray is Priscilla & Christiana gone to Bath yet ? I find there has been an Earthquake there, it must be very alarming. My Sister Rachel bathes in the cold Bath she likes it very much & it agrees with her vastly well. I believe the ride from Keswick to Norwich & back again before breakfast is half the battel, wch she does on horseback if the weather is fine.

I remain Thy affectionate Cozn

Jos Gurney

18

Norwich 20th Sept 1775

Dr Cozn Joe

I am sorry to find thou thinkest me such an Epicure as only to desire to live in health, merely for the sake of eating dainties, however I can with Satisfaction inform thee, that I have no occasion to follow thy wholesome regimen to cure my Cough, as it is departed without it. I wish Priscilla's was of no worse consequence than mine; she has had it a long time upon her, & it seems to be very much fix'd in her Constitution. A worthy Cousin of ours takes her departure very much to heart. I believe she gave him an undigestable Pill before she went away.[39] Poor young Man! I sincerely pity him, he appears thoroughly unhappy, & so dejected that he shuns the Company even of his nearest & most intimate Connections. I shall be heartily glad to see thee down amongst us, for thou art not a very frequent visitor of these parts without having some particular circumstance in view. The present I presume thou wilt think the most agreeable that has drawn thee hither for a long time; my Sister's being well settled is certainly very desirable but, nevertheless the loss of her Company will be very great to me in particular. I wish she may have no occasion for the cold Bath when she gets to London but that matrimony may entirely reistablish her health, yet it's very clever your being so well & easily accomodated in that respect.

I am asham'd to send thee so short a letter, but a summons from my Sister Catharine to attend her to Keswick in the Chaise (my Brot being absent) will excuse me.

Jos Gurney.

19

Norwich 23rd Oct 1775.

Dr Cozn Joe.

I am now so deeply engag'd in business from Awbreys being out on a visit to his relations, that I can hardly spare time to write thee. Nevertheless, my mind will not remain easy until I have disburthen'd it of this my Duty towards thee, therefore as my engagements wch require immediate attention seem at this time pretty clear, I shall dedicate the

few minutes they remain so to thy Service first acquainting thee (wch I suppose thou knowest already) that my Mother has fix'd to set out with my Broth & Sister Barclay next 4th day, but as the house at Cheapside will not be compleatly ready for their reception till 6th day evening, they will find some method not to be there till that time ; & cannot but feel some regret at the near approach of my Sisters departure, yet, as they remain now in so unsettled a State it's much to be desired for their own Comfort & enjoyment, that they may be fix'd to their own home as soon as possible, where, I have no doubt, they will experience the happiness mutual affection inspires, & altho' in the midst of the hurry & bustle of Cheapside they will find serenity & retirement in each others Company.

I am incessively concern'd at informing thee of the sudden decease of our worthy Friend Jos Oxley, he died last night about 12 o'clock without any preceding indisposition, having eat a hearty supper, & went to bed in excellent Spirits. Just before he went off he complain'd of being very cold, immediately turn'd about in his bed, made an effort to strech his arm to his Wife, & departed without sigh or groan. His loss is sincerely lamented by all that knew him, he has strictly preserv'd a clean life & unspotted reputation.

I understand you were near being rob'd in the forest, & that you all three behav'd heroically but in different ways. Polly natural to her Sex was much frightened, but exercis'd heroinisme sufficient to be silent. Bob like a Philosopher feig'd indifference by half sleeping (being half kept awake by fear) & thou thyself wast serene, by the assistance of manly resolution. But pray, my good Cousin, from what authority canst thou assert they were highwaymen ? As your presence of mind was so strongly put to the test, it's pity but they had rob'd you, because you wou'd then have had something to talk of, but, now perhaps they were only two innocent Travellers who for the sake of Company rid by side of your Chaise. . . .

I remain

Thy affectionate Cozn

Jos Gurney.

20

Norwich 7th Nov. 1775.

Dr Cozn Joe.

I have been sometime considering whither to write thee or my Sister, however as I always think it best to clear of debts before one distributes favors thy letter claims the right of being first attended to.

Its surprising with what grace of attitude thou hast drawn the Cat with, that struck thy fancy so much. I shew my Sister Catharine thy performance, she laugh'd at it most heartily, & said it was just like Joe Bevan. We expect to see Dan & Elizabeth[40] the latter end of this week. I am vastly vext they come just at this time as I am likely by it to miss their Company both here & in London, at least I do not expect to be many days with them here, as in all probability I shall be in the great Metropolis by the latter end of next week. I am glad to hear thy Cough is gone, & that thou art no longer to be rank'd amongst the list of Ivalids, which may be very properly termed the black list, as gloominess is the frequent attendant on ill health, wch I have heard some people call the black Devil. Thou art not much afflicted with that distemper, & even if thou wast I think thee took a more effectual means to drive such a Companion away, by Dick Phillips & the Jews Harps, than any remedy the highest feed Phisical Fop cou'd have prescrib'd. I think to compleat the joke you ought to have had some Dulcineas to have danc'd to your hum strum.

Why did you not call in Alis, the fat Cook Etc. I was much diverted a few nights ago with looking in at the window of a Shabby Alehouse where there was a large Circle of Mobility set round a large fire, being attentive Spectators of an old fellow who was dancing to the fiddle wth a young sprightly Girl. In eve'y countenance there appear'd Joy uninterrupted by the thoughts of tomorrows drudgery, " Sufficient for the day is evil there of," was the text imprinted in each look. I staid till the dance was over & the Pot began to go round wch the ladies seem'd to partake of with as much relish as their hard working Companions.

I lodged at Milend last night, my Uncle was very finely & in excellent Spirits.

As a partial examiner into the Causes why more robers shou'd be found in your part of Kingdom than in ours, thou hast to be sure very ingeniously made out the reason to your advantage, but then remember that this same luxurient soil that produces such fine Crops & consequently so many weeds, will if great care is not taken, be over run with so many flowers, that they will hinder the growth of each other, & be stunted before they arrive at Maturity, now there is another soil w^ch^ is much cleaner & more free from weeds, at the same time it will produce such a quantity of flowers, as having space to grow, will flourish & arrive at the greatest perfection. This is as likely to be the reason we have so few robberies.

Jos. Gurney.

21

Norwich 27^th^ Dec. 1775.

D^r^ Coz^n^ Joe

. . . neither do I find myself ever much inclined to work during the Christmas hollidays, it seems a kind of natural relaxation to all degrees of people—the enjoyment of liberty is mark'd on ev'ry one's countenance. I truly sympathise in the Joy of some poor Creatures, who on these days shake off the load of confinement & drudgery which is heap'd upon them the rest of the Year, & in putting on their Christmas Cloths, drive away old Care, & with the few shillings they are able to gather together rejoice the hearts of a whole family. To be sure its too often dedicated to the bottle & Glass, & the time designed for relaxation is turned into hard labour, for I suppose there is scarce any more difficult than that of getting drunk, or at least of supporting that situation for many days together.

We had a melancholly accident a few days ago, by a mans being drunk & playing some tricks with his Horses fell off fr^m^ his Waggon & was kill'd upon the spot just by Milend.

Thus much of this letter seems adapted to the time, indeed there are so many circumstances constantly putting one in mind of it, that it's impossible to have your thoughts turn'd to any thing else, especially of an evening when you are ev'ry moment saluted with the songs of the boys &

congratulations of the old women whose wither'd limbs the Cold weather sends to the Door, in order to beg for something with which they may be enabled to buy Coals or a Cordial to warm them.

There is one practice w^ch^ I partook of with great pleasure last night or rather this morning, & that was the weights—the solemn stillness of the night, being interrupted by the sound of the French horn & the other instruments that accompanied it, made me not regret the desertion of sleep from my eyelids.

. . .

Jos Gurney.

22

Norwich 27^th^ Jan. 1776.

D^r^ Coz^n^ Joe

I receiv'd thy letter with much pleasure after so long a cessation of correspondence, I should almost have thought your ink as well as water was froze if I had not incontrovertible proofs to the contrary by letters from thee to my Brother &c^a^, however, I am entirely of thy opinion that there are times when we experience a more particular regard for those who constantly engage our affection, & no doubt it is then the proper opportunity to be engaged in their service, but my good cousin in future I beg thee would not *wait* for such times but when they happen obey their dictates & in the intermediate place let me hear from thee, otherwise I shall very seldom have the pleasure of a pledge of thy regard by letter, if I may judge the time thy last has been coming.

This very cold weather has drove me to be a skaiter. I confess for the first week of the frost I comforted myself with the reflection of enjoying unbruised bones, (the lot of most beginners in that exercise) & indulged myself over the Fireside, but I found so inactive a life did not agree with my constitution, I therefore boldly engag'd the congeal'd element, & after many easy falls (render'd so by fear) I at length got the master of it & can now perform with tolerable ease to myself; tho' the pleasure was acquir'd with much labour & industry, so eager are we after the pursuit of enjoyment, that our resolution never flags notwithstanding the pains & labour we pass thro' to acquire it, which if forc'd upon us

wou'd be the greatest punishment, so perverse is the inclination that it seldom can conform itself to the rules of necessity. . . .

I understand Jaber McFisher is return'd from his western expedition highly delighted he is to come down Norwich to invite me to take a journey with him in the spring, as it is my full intention to go somewhere at that time. . . . I cannot with any face refuse him as he has been so solicitous for me to accompany him heretofore. I confess it would be much more agreeable to me to embrace thy proposition of our being Companions; however as I cannot see how that can be without Jaber being of the party, I hope thee will condescend to make a third, as nothing will contribute to make such a Journey agreeable so much as thy Company. . . .

Thy affectionate
JOS GURNEY.

NOTES

[28] Thomas Kett (1746-1820) married Hannah Gurney, as his second wife, in 1780, she being then about twenty years old. See Note 20.

The Ketts were an old Norfolk family, to which belonged the leader of the rebellion in the reign of King Edward the Sixth. Richard Kett, of Norwich, who was born in the last decade of the seventeenth century, married Martha Hopes, of Amsterdam, whose family was Quaker. This Richard's daughter, Elizabeth, married, *c.* 1739, John Gurney, of Keswick, our writer's father (*Family Chronicles*, by Lilian Clarke, 1910, pedigree at end).

[29] Hudson Gurney, born 19 January, 1775, See note 4.

[30] A letter from J. G. Bevan, printed among his *Letters* in 1821, dated 1775, 2mo. 23, is, doubtless, a reply to his cousin's letter of 20th February.—"To begin with thy letter at the end, I must take notice of thy comparison between a mind highly susceptible of pleasure and pain and one almost callous to either . . . ."

[31] Priscilla and Christiana were the daughters of the uncle of the writer, Joseph Gurney (1729-1761), of Norwich, who married Christiana Barclay. Christiana (Barclay) Gurney married, secondly, in 1767, John Freame (1729-1770). They were first cousins, so could not be married in Meeting. Her third husband, whom she married, *c.* 1772, was Sir William Watson, a deeply religious man. The family settled at Bath. The burial registers for Bristol and Somerset contain the entry: Christiana Watson, d. 1796 xii. 25, of Dawlish in Devon, late wife of William, buried at Exeter.

Despite her out of meeting marriages Lady Watson remained a Friend to the end.

Priscilla Hannah Gurney (1757-1828) became, after many fluctuating religious views, a well-known Quaker Minister. She is described as

" small in person, beautiful in countenance, elegant in manner, delicate in health and almost fastidiously refined in habit." Her relative, Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck, *form.* Galton (1778-1856), wrote of her :

" Her costume was that of the strictest Friends of that day. How well I remember her coarse stuff gown, contrasted with the exquisite beauty and delicacy of her hands and arms ; her snow-white handkerchief and her little grey shawl ; her brown hair divided after the manner of a Gothic arch over her fair forehead. Then she wore a black silk hood over her cap and over all a black beaver bonnet, in the shape of a pewter plate, which was then esteemed the official dress of the [Ministers'] gallery. Her voice was most musical and enchanting. . . . It was a common observation with those who cursorily saw her that she wanted but wings to be an angel" (*Life*, 1858).

The Memoir of the Life and Religious Experience of Priscilla Hannah Gurney, edited by Sarah Allen, appeared in 1834. It is a very striking autobiographical record of a soul tossed to and fro and carried about with many winds of doctrine and finally reaching a harbour of peace. P. H. Gurney was a great help to her cousin, Elizabeth Gurney, *aft.* Fry. The latter wrote in her Journal, under date of September 3rd, 1798 : " Prissy Gurney I feel my constant little friend—dearly do I love her indeed."

Christiana Gurney is frequently mentioned in her sister's *Memoirs*. She lived at Bath and died there in 1837, aged 80.

[32] This tour receives a brief notice in Priscilla's *Memoirs :*

" My sister and myself, with our mother's approbation, made a visit to our numerous relations in Norfolk. We enjoyed a long course of innocent recreation in making the tour of Norfolk " (p. 30).

[33] Caroline, daughter of David Barclay, of Cheapside, married John Lindoe.

[34] Priscilla Wakefield (1750/51-1832) was the eldest daughter of John and Katharine Bell, of Stamford Hill. Her husband was Edward Wakefield (1750-1826), a London merchant, living at Tottenham. They were married in 1771. P. Wakefield was the instigator and establisher of savings-banks, 1798. She and her husband lived in later life at Ipswich. She was a prolific writer of books for young persons on travel, natural history and mental improvement generally.

[35] Henry Kett (1744-) was a brother of Thomas Kett. They were sons of Henry and Anna Maria Kett.

[36] There was a family of Woodrow resident at Yarmouth, with a branch at Norwich.

[37] *The History of Pompey the Little ; or the Life and Adventures of a Lap Dog*, London, 1751, 1761, 1773, was by Rev. Francis Coventry, M.A., incumbent of Edgware, writer of verses and satires, 1750-1753. Several characters were intended for ladies well-known in contemporary Society. In the 1799 edition, chap. 5, book 2, " A Description of a Drum," we read : " Lady Frippery, in imitation of other ladies of rank and quality, was ambitious of having a drum, though the smallness of her lodgings might well have excused her from attempting that modish piece of vanity." " Lady Bab Frightful " is invited to the Drum, but her coming was delayed—" at last she came and it is impossible to express the joy they felt on her appearance." " Sir Thomas Frippery " was the " Noble Knight."

The reading of young Quakers of the period was wide !

[38] Probably, Elizabeth Bell (*c.* 1756-1846), daughter of Daniel Bell. She married, in 1781, John Hanbury (1751-1801), brewer, of London. Her brother, Jonathan, describes her as "a very remarkable person, elegant and stately, very handsome and graceful . . . ever taking the strongest interest in everyone's affairs and pursuits" (*The Family of Hanbury*, 1916, vol. ii., p. 290, where a portrait is reproduced).

[39] This proposal is referred to in Priscilla's *Memoirs*, p. 30: "I was now in the nineteenth year of my age, and had another subject of importance to decide upon—that of admitting or rejecting a proposal of marriage with a member of our Society, whose attachment had more to recommend him than his religious attainments or the superiority of his natural endowments." Later the suitor re-appeared having followed Priscilla into the Anglican Church in the hope of winning her but she would not see him. By this time she had become dissatisfied with the Church of her choice (p. 49). Unfortunately the name of the "poor young man" does not appear. Priscilla died single.

[40] Probably, Daniel Bell (note 17), and his daughter, Elizabeth (note 38).

On the Way to London Y.M., 1783

Left Leeds 29th 5 mo. in company with Joseph Garrett from Ireland—Sheffield, attended marriage of my cousin Tabitha Hoyland with Benj[n] Middleton, of Wellingborough, 30th 5 mo.—Chesterfield—Castle Donington, first day meeting, George Follows and son, wife Ruth being in Ireland; Thos Bakewell and daughters and many other Friends—Ashby de la Zouch—Hartshill, John and Hannah Atkins school, the old Friend a widow, herself and son with an usher carry on the business—Coventry, Joseph Heath, John Cash, Edward Gulson, "last Friend quite unwilling we should leave his house, it being y[e] Priests Visitation" left with addition of J. Heath and Thomas Cash—Towcester, that night at the Saracens Head where I had a damp bed and so was obliged to get up and put on some of my clothes—Hogstye End, joined Friends at their M.M.—Wooburn, Briggins How—Albans—Barnet—Islington, where we left our horses and come by coach to Town.

5 mo. 29 to 6 mo. 5.—209 miles.

From a MS. in the possession of Charles J. Holdsworth, 1924.

1776. *August* 17. The last letters from London bring advice of the death of Capel Hanbury, Merchant. The business is carried on by Osgood Hanbury, the surviving partner.

From the *Maryland Gazette* as quoted in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 18 (1923), p. 274.

Hands Across the Sea

Concluded from page 46

[There is now a long pause in the correspondence, and the next letter from America is dated 1784, and is addressed to a connection of the Shackleton and Carleton families. Evidently the old friend was eager for news. War seems to have been the cause (as the letter explains) of the lapse in writing.]

America

Kennett,
10th of 8th month, 1784.

Respected Friend and Kinsman,
John Chandlee,

I received a letter from thee dated in the 11th month last, which was very welcome to me, in which I received the agreeable account of some of my friends and relatives on your side of the water, and many times thought of you, but the difficulty of sending in this time of commotion, made me backward of sending. By this may inform you I have been a widower the greatest part of thirty years. I having bought a farm or plantation in Kennett after I was married I have lived there ever since, and my son Thomas lives with me, and is married and has eight children, Hannah, Dinah, Martha, Mark, Samuel, Lydia, Thomas and Caleb. Martha is married and has three children, in their minority.[34] My daughter, Susannah, married Michael Harlan, and has four daughters.[35] As thou mentioned thy brother's marrying Richard Shackleton's daughter,[38] of Ballitore. I hoped thou would have mentioned whether his wife (Elizabeth Carleton that was) be alive or not. I have had several letters from her in years past. I think the last account of her, was by Thomas Carington,[40] who visited your nation some years ago. When our family left Ireland in the year 1711, I had one brother named John, and four sisters, all dead but the youngest; she married out, is yet alive, for what I know, and made a poor hand of herself.

I suppose it is a time of great favour to friends in your parts, that the Almighty is pleased to send so many of our publick friends to visit the churches, on your side of the

ocean. My hearty desire is for their being supported in the right line, in their public service where their lots may be cast. I am now far gone in the eighty-fifth year of my life, and as hearty as most of that age; gets to our meeting in good weather sometimes, which is very pleasing to me, especially when Kind Providence is pleased to cover with the wing of his Divine Love. I have been favoured with health since I came into America, which I am and have been thankful for; but I find my memory and some other of my senses begin to fail, but I must submit to the All Wise disposing hand of Providence who knows what is best for us. There was a brother of thy grandfather, John Chandlee that came to this country some years before us, has been dead many years and left several children. His name was Benjamin Chandlee and lived at a place called Nottingham twenty miles from me. I believe some of his offspring is yet in being, but do not make much appearance among Friends.

When thou seest any of the publick Friends from America, and has opportunity give my kind respects to them. I think I have had some acquaintance with most of them, in the best and nearest relation. I earnestly desire that their labour in the ministry may be blessed with success, to the stirring of the negligent in their duty in the work of religion, and the strengthening of the weak hands to confirm the feeble knees, that so they may be enabled to support Truth's testimony now in this declining age. I have wrote more than I expected when I began, and if this comes to hand which I think scarce worth sending, but at thy earnest request have blackened some paper, hoping these may find thee with the rest of my relations on that side of the ocean, in health as it leaves me and mine at present. If my cousin Elizabeth Shackleton, be alive please to give my kind love to her and her husband.

I think I never saw her, but have had an agreeable account concerning her, which with kind respects to thee and friends that may have any knowledge of me. I remain

Thy assured friend and cousin

THOMAS CARLETON.

[The foregoing letter seems quickly to have been sent on to Ballitore, so that Elizabeth Shackleton at once replies to her old cousin at Kennett.]

Ireland

Ballitore,
2d of 7th month 1785.

My dear friend and Cousin,
Thomas Carleton

This day I saw an agreeable letter from thee, to my cousin John Chandlee, and it was pleasing for us to see thou art favoured with ability to write still, and that tho' thy natural faculties may in some measure have been weakened, as the consequence of thy great age, yet that thy spiritual faculties are lively, and thy desire after that strengthening virtue and life which has been thy support all thy life long is still strong. . . . It is a long time since I had the satisfaction of corresponding with thee ; the troubles in your country prevailed for a time, since there has been a way opened I often intended to let thee hear from me, and did not intend to let it have been so long, but being grown less capable of writing than formerly and easily interrupted hope thou wilt excuse mistakes, my sight has also grown very weak. and I dont write much of late. The account of thy children, and grandchildren is pleasing to us, and I think it would be pleasing to thee to hear of ours. My husband's second daughter Margaret was married about 9 years ago to Samuel Grubb of Clonmel,[22] has 5 children, 2 sons and three daughters. She is, we hope, a sensible religious Friend, and like to be serviceable. Her husband also a valuable young man. Six years ago my husband's son was married to Lydia Mellor,[41] a descendant of Margaret Fox, well suited for his business, and I hope like to a useful woman in her day. Our son being an exemplary religious young man is like to be a serviceable man in the Society. They have four children living, two sons and two daughters. . . .

Upon their marriage my husband gave up the school and house, and the business prospers so with them, they have 50 boarders. We retired to a commodious house near them, where my dear sister Deborah lived (she was removed now 7 years ago, I hope in peace in the 65th year of her age). My husband's eldest daughter Deborah was married near 5 years ago to my cousin Thomas Chandlee a worthy steady young man,[22] a credit to his friends in all his dealings, and his wife an honest hearted sincere woman, willing to do good.

They have had four children and have two living, a daughter and a son. I have two daughters living Mary and Sarah, neither married;[24] they are we hope religiously disposed young women and helpful to us. I am grown rather heavy, and not able to travel as much, unless to our own General and Particular meetings, but my husband is lively in body and spirit, and much from home on Truth's service, industrious in that way now, as in his outward calling when he was engaged in it. He goes generally to London every year, has taken his two younger daughters to Yearly Meeting with him. We have been favoured with the visits of divers of the faithful servants of the Lord from your country, and others whose labours I hope have been of service to many. The Youth has been visited, and I hope divers have joined with the visitations, and are willing to give up their names to serve Truth in their generation, which is a great comfort to us who are advanced in years. . . . Our dear and worthy friend, John Pemberton,[42] has had hard labour in this nation in many places, among those not acquainted with Friends' principles, and I hope has had good service. Dear old Thomas Ross,[43] has been with him. I suppose they are together visiting in England or Scotland.

Our dear cousin, Samuel Carleton,[37] died some time after my sister, with whom he had lived, after he broke up house (in Dublin). He had been declining for a good while, and from a bulky person, wasted to be very thin and quiet and resigned, and we hope was accepted by Him who knows the sincerity of our hearts, and makes allowance in His great mercy for our infirmities. This I crave for myself, being attended by many, and that it may please Him to continue His help the remaining part of time assigned to us. While on this precarious stage of life that so He may please to appoint us a place of rest, if ever so mean a mansion, is the sincere desire of the mind, and with true love and affection to thee and thine, joined by my husband and children.

Thy sincere and loving friend and cousin,

ELIZABETH SHACKLETON.

[A brief letter comes in answer and is the last of the correspondence.]

America

Kennett, in Chester Co.
Pennsylvania,
22nd of 12th month 1785.

My Dear friend and Cousin
Elizabeth Shackleton,

I have a very acceptable letter from thee, dated the 7th month last, which was much to my satisfaction in divers respects; the more so, as the letter from John Chandlee mentioned nothing of thee. I knew not whether thou wast living or no, but now there is a way opened for corresponding I may inform you that through the mercy of Kind Providence, I am still in being now in the 87th year of my age, as well as I can expect; hoping this may find thee and thine in the same enjoyment. I have my hearing pretty well still, but my seeing fails much, it being the effect of age; but am secretely thankful I am, as I am. . . . I speak with humble reverence to Him who has been my Preserver from my youth, and I hope will be to the last.

I rejoice in Friend's company when they come to see me, but I cannot ride much abroad of late.

My son's eldest daughter named Hannah, was married some time ago, a hopeful young woman. Her husband's name William Passmore.[34] She died last third month, leaving a son named Carleton Passmore. Seems a fine hearty thriving child. . . .

I am almost ashamed to write and make blunders. Thou hast been pleased to favour me with an account of some of my kindred in your nation, on my father's side. I should be pleased if I should live to hear a favourable account of any of my Mother's kindred. Her brother, my Uncle Solomon Watson,[44] is dead many years. He lived I suppose in the Co. of Tipperary and left several children, some account of them would be pleasing to me.

The account of thy husband giving up his time to serve Truth and Friends, is most pleasing to me, I hope he continues in so doing.

Thy friend and Cousin,
THOMAS CARLETON.

P.S. I also received some time ago some lines in verse, concerning the loss at sea between Cork and Bristol of two

Friends,[45] composed by my cousin, thy daughter Mary Shackleton. I take it kind of her, but I know not how to make her amends.

[In this letter the handwriting is sadly changed, and in places so feeble as to be illegible.]

[In the following letter Jane Watson,[46] then on a religious visit in America with Mary Ridgway, gives a vivid picture of the old cousin Thomas.]

Philadelphia.
23 *of* 1*st mo.* 1791.

Dear Friend,

No doubt but thou hast heard by different hand, we have been much in the way of late of stopping in places up and down on this continent (America) to visit families which has retarded our journey visits, but I believe it is safest for us in all things to let the Lord's time be ours, whether in Meetings, etc., as we are independent creatures. This a sort of introduction to the cause of my presuming to write to thee. If thou remembers, that if we came near thy Uncle Thomas Carleton, at least I suppose he is thy Uncle, that I should go and see him, accordingly near the close of the family visit at Willington, being then within ten miles of him, I got a friend to accompany me to his dwelling the fifth of this month. I heard he was childish, but could not observe anything. I believe I wrote Molly word he was 92, but I think he said wanted 4 months of it. He seemed remarkably glad to see me, said he could not tell how to make amends for such a favour of my going all the way on purpose. I suppose while I stayed he shook me by the hand more than twenty times, often expressed the favour, kissed four times, said he longed much to see me, but said he was afraid he should not have lived, till we would again visit these parts. I was so well pleased with my visit, I would not for more than is necessary to say, have omitted it. His conversation was so innocent, so cheerful, and withal so instructing, that I was fully paid for my journey, if it was three times as far. He spoke of the great sympathy he felt for us, when we landed, and entered into such a field of labour. . . . He would once in a while drop into one of his innocent little turns, incident to the family,

so like dear Samuel Carleton, that he often put me in mind of him. One thing he spoke about Marriages:

> If marriage was not lawful
> Lawyers would not use it,
> If it was not Godly
> Preachers would refuse it;
> If it was not dainty
> Rich folk would not crave it;
> If it was not plenty
> Poor folk would not have it.

I put this down just as he said it; it seemed so like one of poor Aunt Thompson's sayings. Before I left him I requested to have a little of his hair to send thee. He immediately took off his hat, for me to cut it off with my own hands. . . .

Poor man he has sustained a very great loss about four months ago, his daughter-in-law was removed by death. They say she was exceeding fond of him, and him of her. . . . He has now but one son, several grand-children, four great grand-children.

Now having given thee the fullest account that is in my power concerning that worthy friend, who is universally loved, if at any time thou canst find freedom to write me a few lines they would be truly welcome. . . .

Thy poor, little, very sincere,

J. WATSON.

NOTES

[40] Thomas Carrington (*c.* 1721-1781) was a yeoman, of Pennsylvania, son of Thomas and Mary (d. *ante* 1762). Thomas, the younger, married Mary Walton, widow, "of the Mannor of Moor Land, Seamstress," 21 ix., 1745, when he was of the Township of Lower Dublin, County of Philadelphia. In 1755, with wife and children, he was certificated to Richland M.M., and from this M.M. he removed to Abington M.M. with his wife, children, and step-daughter, Esther Walton, 26 vii., 1756. His wife died 19 iii., 1760, "Inter'd 21st with her son." In 1761, Thomas was "admitted a member of the select meeting of Ministers and Elders." In 1762, he married Mary Baker, daughter of Aaron and Mary Baker, of New Garden M.M. having previously, with his three children, Mary, Sarah, and Rachel, removed into London Grove M.M.

T. Carrington was in Europe in 1775ff. When visiting public-houses in Bristol in 1777, he was the means of the conversion of that noted Minister George Withy, of Melksham, Wiltshire. Withy was a careless youth, but was told that he would become a Friend and Minister and visit America in that capacity which all came to pass (*Biog. Sketches*, Phila., 1870).

James Jenkins wrote of Carrington, in his free and easy style: "About this time it was that I saw in Ireland Thos Carrington, an American ministering Friend of the wildest appearance and of manners

extremely uncouth. It was him of whom the anecdote is related of taking the whole to himself of a dish of pease for which David Barclay's wife had given half a guinea, at the time of the Y.M." (*Records and Recollections*, MS. in D.)

Dated from Dublin, 29 iii., 1779, Samuel Spavold and he wrote an *Epistle to Friends in Ireland*. And from London, 9 iii. 1778; he wrote *A Christian Exhortation to the People*, respecting attendance at fairs, etc., in which he refers to England as his native land. Prior to his death in 1781, he visited Nantucket and other parts of North America.

The following is taken from the Minutes of Western Quarterly Meeting, Pa., 19th of 8 mo., 1782.

Answer to first annual query:

"One Minister, to wit, our esteemed Friend, Thomas Carrington, late of New Garden Mo. Meeting [Pa.], who departed this life the 5th of the 9th mo., 1781, aged about sixty years.

"He was one, who, from his natural capacity, & the Life & virtue attending his Ministry, manifested his Commission not to be in the wisdom of man; but in the Simplicity of the Gospel, often reaching the witness of truth in the Hearts of the hearers. With the Concurrence of his frd^{s} he spent several of the latter years of his life in visiting the Churches of Great Britain and Ireland; returning from thence well recommended, & appeared to have gained a greater Degree of depth & experience in humble waiting for, & moving in that ability which rightly qualifies for the Ministry & other services in the Church. The remainder of his time he spent much in the service of Truth, until the approach of his last illness, which he bore with patience; and departed in Unity with his Brethren, & (we trust) in peace with the Lord."

Information *per* kindness of Prof. R. W. Kelsey, of Haverford, Pa.

[41] Lydia Mellor (1749-), *aft.* Shackleton, was a daughter of Ebenezer and Margaret (Abraham) Mellor, of Manchester. Her mother was a grand-daughter of Rachel (Fell) Abraham, youngest daughter of Margaret Fell-Fox. See *British Friend*, vol. 3 (1845), p. 168.

[42] John Pemberton (1727-1795) was the youngest of the famous trio of Philadelphians, Israel, James and John. He died in Germany, while on a religious visit. He is frequently mentioned in Rancocas *John Woolman*, 1922.

[43] Thomas Ross and John Pemberton wrote a letter to the Mayor of Waterford, dated in that City, 4 mo. 4, 1785, enclosing extracts from the writings of pious men *re* stage plays (printed in Dublin same year).

Thomas Ross (1709-1786) was Irish by birth and emigrated to Wrightstown, Pa. He visited Europe in the Rebecca Jones party of Ministers in 1784. He died, at the house of Lindley Murray in York, from the effects of an injury to his leg received on ship-board, and his remains were interred near those of John Woolman. "He was a sweet spirited and acceptable minister" (Rancocas *John Woolman*, p. 570).

James Jenkins narrates, on the authority of Joseph Rand, of Newbury, that T. Ross addressed a congregation there in the following words: "Friends, you have a comfortable meeting-house here, well-built and secure from the inclemency of the weather—the gallery too seems to be a convenient one and the pillars which support it substantial," &c. Just that and no more—no spiritual application followed. After the meeting, John Eliot (who accompanied him) said, "Although Thomas did not shine to-day, he is sometimes an highly favor'd Minister" (*Records and Recollections*, pp. 243, 244).

[44] Solomon Watson (1682-1758) was born at Kilconnor, Co. Carlow, Ireland, son of Samuel and Elizabeth Watson. He married (1) Abigail Bowles (d. 1716/17), of Ballitrane, Co. Carlow, in 1707, (2) Elizabeth Bevan (died 1732), in Dublin in 1718, and (3) Deborah Smallman (died 1750), of Waterford in 1737. At the time of his second and third marriages he is described as " of Clonbrogan " and at the time of the death of his third wife as " of Cashel." The entry of his death gives " Clonmel " as his place of residence.

Information from Edith Webb. Above Abigail (Bowles) Watson must not be confused with Abigail Bowles, *née* Craven, wife of Samuel Watson, who died 1752.

[45] These were Edith Lovell (1741-1781) and Joseph Sparrow (1755-1781).

Edith Lovell (*née* Bourne) was the wife of Robert Lovell, of Bristol. She joined Friends in her spinsterhood and about 1767 she appeared as a Minister, feeling " engaged to drop a few words in meetings " (Testimony). She had paid a religious visit to the South of Ireland and towards the end of 1781 was ready to return home. Joseph Sparrow, a young Irish Friend, was about to visit his fiancée, Mary Davis, of Minehead, Som., and agreed to bear E. Lovell company. They embarked at Cork on the *Elizabeth* for Bristol on the 29th of 12 mo., 1781. The lighthouse which would have guided the vessel was not lit and as a consequence the vessel was wrecked in a storm on the Culver Sands off Burnham.

Richard Shackleton described Edith Lovell as " a sweet minister, not large in her gift " (*R. and E. Shackleton*, 1849, p. 140).

There is a slightly different account of the sad event in James Jenkins's *Records and Recollections*, pp. 138, 139. He describes J. Sparrow as his " dear and intimate friend." Mary Davis became the wife of John Merryweather, of Ringwood, Hants.

The poem of Mary Shackleton, *aft.* Leadbeater, is printed in *The Friends' Magazine*, vol. 2 (1831), accompanying an article by William Ball.

[46] Jane Watson (?1739-?1812) accompanied Mary Ridgway on many of her missionary journeys. They were in U.S.A., 1789-92. Rebecca Jones, of Philadelphia, calls them " the female Hibernians " and " our noble warriors " (*Memorials*, pp. 185, 191). In one of J. Watson's certificates for service her ministry is stated to be " sound and edifying though not large." (See art. by Edith Webb in *Journal*, x. 280.)

Mary Ridgway (1728-1804) was of Mountmellick, Ireland. She was a daughter of Joseph and Mary Sparkes, of Exeter. In 1753, she visited Ireland and was accompanied on part of her visit by Elizabeth Carleton, *aft.* Shackleton. Presumably on this service she met Joshua Ridgway, of Ballicarrol, Queens Co., and married him in 1754. During their short married life she did not undertake much public service. This period of her life has been fully related by James Jenkins and appears to have been a very sad one: her husband is described as " a gay young man of handsome fortune." The private troubles of this period and later are touched on slightly in printed records—" her exercises through life was many both outwardly and inwardly (those from without of a very peculiar and trying nature " (Leadbeater, *Biog. Notices*, 1823). " My sympathy is great with dear M. Ridgway; in thy freedom (though I suspect it will be a painful task) I should like to know the true state of things, that more than enough might not be in circulation " (R. Jones to Joseph Williams of Dublin, 24 v. 1800).

The brighter side of the picture is given by J. Jenkins:

"In the year 1776, I was one of a large company who dined at her house, and I have seldom seen what is called 'the honors of the table' done more gracefully than by her at that time . . . thereby proving that polite hospitality is not incompatible with the Christian character" (pp. 606-611).

In note 35 there is recorded the marriage of Susanna Carleton and Michael Harlan—we have before us a reproduction of the wedding certification of these friends, by Gilbert Cope, of West Chester, Pa. The first signature after those of the parties (both signing Harlan) is that of Thomas Carleton and below are other signatures of Carletons and Harlans.

Calorics in Early Indiana

From a very interesting account of early Quakerism in Indiana, which has recently appeared in the life of Charles F. Coffin (1823-1916) we cull the following:

"The old horizontal stoves [in the meeting house], which would accommodate a stick of cordwood; how the boy envied the caretaker who tip-toed solemnly about—from time to time—to fill them up again. Those old stoves never warmed anything but people's heads. The air near the floor was cold certainly, and that stove on the women's side of the room with its pile of bricks! Each woman who sat in the gallery picked up a 'taker' (or woolen holder) and took a brick to her seat to keep her feet warm. The return of those 'takers,' so that others could use them, was a cause of great interest to the children. Some were passed from hand to hand, but many attempted to throw them back to the stove. Mary Roberts was a sure shot, but by far the majority of them wandered wide, landing in laps and on nice bonnets. A great deal of suppressed indignation and many red faces resulted, and the impressive way in which the 'taker' (which had wandered far from the proper path) was passed on was strikingly funny."

John Wesley and Friends' Workhouse

"Feb. 1744. Mr. Westley intended to have gone to see y^e^ Quakers Workhouse and I with him, but time would not admit. That is said to be y^e^ best to take a Plan from of any in London."

Quoted in *Trans. Wesley Hist. Soc.*, xiv. 40.

Leading the Way

BEING a Series of brief Sketches of Quaker Inventions and Discoveries, and of Friends who have led the Way in various directions.[1]

Continued from page 70

LXXIV

NATHANIEL CARD (1805-1856) was born in Dublin and died in Manchester. "Mr. Card's name will longest be remembered from his connection with the United Kingdom Alliance for the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic, which great movement he was the means of founding in the year 1852" (*Manchester Examiner and Times*, 31st March, 1856).

LXXV

DR. BARTHOLOMEW FUSSELL (1794-1871) originated the idea of a women's medical college, which developed into the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, established in 1850. "His association with an elder sister led him first to ask 'Why should not women have the same opportunities as men.'?" (*The Woman Citizen*, New York, Oct. 7, 1922.)

"He was born in Chester Co., Pa. Moved with his father to Md., as a young man, where he worked as a school teacher by day, studied medicine at night, and taught slaves to read on Sundays. When he had graduated he practised in Pa., where he became successful. He married Lydia Morris in 1826. Their house at Kennett Square, Pa., soon became one of the regular places of refuge on the Underground Railroad and they entertained at various times nearly all the leaders of the anti-slavery movement who came to Kennett Square. His first wife died in 1840. In 1841 he married Rebecca Hewes and moving to York,

[1] The Editor would be glad to receive information regarding other inventions, discoveries, etc., or regarding other claimants to any of the inventions or positions introduced. The length of the Sketch bears no proportion to the importance of the subject.

The Editor is obliged for information received.

Pa., opened a school to which coloured youths were admitted.

" His convictions about the fitness of women for the medical profession were due to the influence of his elder sister, Esther Lewis. In 1846 he enlisted the sympathy of progressive medical men and eventually, after considerable obstacles had been overcome, succeeded in founding the Medical College for Women, North College Avenue, Phila. He was never officially connected with the College, but regarded its foundation as one of the important results of his life. He spent a part of his later years at Pendleton, Ind., in the home of his son Joshua. Died at the home of his son, Dr. Morris Fussell, near Chester Springs, Chester Co., Pa, 14 ii. 1871." (From Smedley's *Underground Railroad*, 1883.)

LXXVI

John Coakley Lettsom (1744-1815), " in 1770, founded the General Dispensary in Aldersgate-street (the first of its kind in London); he established the Sea-Bathing Infirmary at Margate; he was one of the founders of our own society [the Medical Society]; he was one of the founders of the Royal Humane Society; he was the first man to introduce into England the mangel wurzel." (Lecture: " John Coakley Lettsom and the Foundation of the Medical Society," by Sir St. Clair Thomson, M.D., printed in *The Lancet*, January 12th, 1918.)

LXXVII

Dr. Ann Preston (1813-1872), a member of West Grove Meeting, Pa., was the first woman to serve as a member of the faculty of the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, and in 1867 she was elected Dean of the Faculty. " Like most of the path-finding women she was a temperance worker and active in the anti-slavery cause." (*The Woman Citizen*, New York, Oct. 7th, 1922.)

Furthey and Cope, *History of Chester County, Pa.*

LXXVIII.

George Middleton Justice (1792-1862) " was a leading hardware merchant of Philadelphia . . . while many took part in urging upon the City the advisability of establishing a public observatory, the pre-eminent leaderships must be given to George M. Justice . . . who may

truly be called the founder of the public observatory. . . . The first notice of Halley's Comet in Philadelphia came from him. . . . The firm of G. M. and G. R. Justice was the first in Philadelphia to send out commercial travellers. The firm acted as bankers for their customers for many years." (*Ancestry of Jeremy Clarke and Dungan Genealogy*, compiled by Alfred Rudulph Justice, Phila., 1923.)

LXXIX

WINIFRED KIEK (*née* Jackson), of Adelaide, formerly of Manchester Meeting, is the first woman in Australia to secure the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.).

The Friend (Lond.), 1923, p. 237.

LXXX

WILLIAM WILSON (*c.* 1711-1793) was the founder of the Barnsley Linen Trade.

Life, by Burland, 1860 ; *Jnl.* xiv. 135.

LXXXI

THOMAS EDDY (1758-1827), merchant and philanthropist of New York, has been styled " the Howard of America."

Life, by Samuel L. Knapp, 1834.

LXXXII

CHARLES MAY (*c.* 1801-1860) " was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1854 for his skill in constructing some of the most important astronomical instruments at Greenwich Observatory, with an accuracy never before attained." (*Jnl.* vii. 45.)

LXXXIII

DR. WILLIAM THORNTON (1761-1828), of Tortola, West Indies, and U.S.A., amateur architect—took his plan for erection of the President's house and Capitol at Washington, D.C., to President George Washington. . . . The Capitol building, probably the best known and most imposing structure in America, was erected substantially from his plans. (Jenkins, *Tortola*, 1923, p. 60.)

LXXXIV

WILLIAM COOKWORTHY (1705-1780) discovered Cornish china clay, and in 1768 " obtained a patent for the exclusive use of Cornish clay and Cornish stone in the manufacture of porcelain." (*D.N.B.*)

LXXXV

LINDLEY MURRAY (1745-1826) has been described as "the father of English Grammar."

LXXXVI

THOMAS WHITWELL (1837-1878) lived at Stockton, Co. Durham. He "established his reputation as a metallurgist and was the author of several useful inventions connected with stoves and furnaces" (*Biog. Cata. London Friends' Institute*, 1888, p. 722).

LXXXVII

JAMES LAWS (-), of Germantown, Pa., was a tanner in Philadelphia. "He introduced the growing of grapes under glass in this country and continued it at his place in Washington Lane." (*Quakers in Germantown*, 1923, p. 25.)

LXXXVIII

PRISCILLA WAKEFIELD (1750/51-1832), of Tottenham, was "one of the earliest promoters, if not the original suggester of those beneficial establishments now so generally known under the name of Savings Banks [1798] and the one at Tottenham is said to have been one of the earliest." (*Biog. Cata. London Friends' Institute*, 1888, p. 680.)

LXXXIX

MARK NEWBURY (-1683) was "the founder of the first bank in the State of New Jersey," 1682. (Clement, *First Settlers in the Newton Township, N.J.* (1877), p. 40.)

XC

JAMES C. HALLOCK, the Father of the New York Clearing House, was born 12th mo. 3, 1809, at West Farms, Westchester Co., N.Y., and died in Brooklyn, 10th mo. 5, 1885; a member of New York Monthly Meeting (held at 15th Street). In 1852 he proposed arbitration between the banks of New York, in the form of a Clearing House. As the bankers would not consider the London plan, he invented an original method, the most expeditious ever devised, and at the end of a year got them to adopt it. The Clearing House was opened October 11th, 1853, since which there has been peace and harmony between the banks. Theretofore the banks of the City kept accounts with each other, Friday being the regular settlement day, and were

periodically in a state of private war over their accounts by forcing settlements with certain banks on other days.

This statement is condensed from a biographical sketch by James C. Hallock, son of the above-named, who is a physician, and an expert and advocate on clearing of out of town checks, on which subject he published a book in 1903. He states that his father was never in the banking business.

Information from John Cox, Jr. of New York.

XCI

Reuben Haines (1786-1831). A booklet recently issued by the American Guernsey Cattle Club gives the story of the Guernsey cow in America. Its first importer was Reuben Haines, a Friend of Germantown, in 1818. He lived at the " Wyck," the oldest house in Germantown, and now occupied by a direct descendant, Casper Wister Haines. The old barn where it is supposed the early imported Guernseys were quartered was made into an attractive colonial dwelling about twenty years ago. (*The American Friend*, 14 vi. 1923.)

Letter from C. W. Haines, 1923.

XCII

" Mrs. T. G. Mason (*née* Miss Laura Heath) passed her examination as a Chemist in 1888 and was the first woman to qualify as a Chemist by examination in New Zealand. She was for some years in sole charge of the Wellington Hospital Dispensary." (*The Ladies' Mirror*, June 1st, 1923). Mrs. T. G. Mason is a Friend.

XCIII

Thomas Young (1773-1829), M.D., F.R.S., "was, without doubt, the greatest man of letters and of science that has sprung from the ranks of the Society of Friends." (*F.Q.E.*, 1868, p. 374).

" His skill was tasked to the utmost in his attempt to decipher the three-fold inscription on the stone brought from Rosetta in Egypt and placed in the British Museum. . . . This famous stone has furnished the key to unlock the mysterious language of ancient Egypt, and though no single scholar owns the complete discovery, yet none seems to have a claim to the honour of overcoming the earliest and greatest

difficulties which can be placed in comparison with Dr. Young, and his name must always be prominent among the eminent men who have brought to light the treasures of a remote antiquity." (*Biog. Cata, Lond. Friends' Inst.*, p. 756.)

XCIV

JETHRO WOOD, the inventor of the cast iron plow, was born at Dartmouth, Mass., 3d mo. 16, 1774, only son of John and Dinah (Hussey) Wood, members of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. He married Sylvia Howland at White Creek, N.Y., 1st mo. 1, 1793, and died about 1840.

Bent on inventing a better plow, he experimented by carving wood and raw potatoes to get an ideal curve. He was living at Scipio, N.Y., when he took out his first patent, in 1814, and his second patent, for an improved moldboard and cast iron standard joining it with the wooden beam. He manufactured his plows, but the business was much injured by infringements until 1845, when the Courts settled that all manufacturers must pay his heirs royalties.

NOTES

XL. C. Francis Jenkins, 5502, 16th Street, Washington, D.C., writes : " Thanks for notice in vol. xix. of my invention of the Motion Picture Projector (completed in 1893-4), of the type which is now in use in every theatre the world over. I send examples of my latest activities, namely Photographs and Motion Pictures by Radio. If, as I maintain, pictures which speak a universal language contribute very greatly to understanding between peoples of unlike tongues, then when pictures are grafted onto the boundless range of the radio, I shall feel that I have contributed my bit with other Friends to world peace."

LXVII. Ada Salter was the first *woman* Labour Mayor in the country.

LXXIII. The dates of Jonathan Dodgson Carr are 1807-1884. He resigned his membership among Friends in May, 1869, and his son, Thomas William Carr, in August, 1868 ; it is said that the reason for so doing was that they took their Bibles to meeting with them, a practice not approved by Friends in that day.

To be Continued

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

The Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City, are importers of Friends' literature.

Many of the books in D may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to the Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

WE have much enjoyed reading *Charles F. Coffin, a Quaker Pioneer*, written by Mary Coffin Johnson and Perceval Brooks Coffin (Richmond, Ind.: Nicholson, pp. 214+xi.). The biography of C. F. Coffin (1823-1916) is preceded by a history of the Coffin family in France. England and North America. The life is divided into Churchly Period, Evangelical Period, and Mystical Period and there are several supplements. Charles Coffin took a prominent place in the religious and philanthropic life of the Hoosier State, was clerk of Indiana Y.M. from 1858 to 1884 having followed his father, Elijah Coffin (1798-1862) who occupied the post from 1827 to 1858. C. F. Coffin's remarks on the duties and responsibilities of clerkship are well worth careful reading (pp. 107-111). Picturesque details of life in the Middle West in the early Quaker days are scattered here and there through the book and we are introduced to the times of the great migration from North Carolina to the West, the Hicksite and Anti-Slavery separations, the religious revivals of 1860 and, later, the Civil War. Extracts from this delightful, helpful book are printed elsewhere.

John E. Pritchard, F.S.A., of Clifton, Bristol, has sent an off-print from the *Trans. Brist. and Glouc. Archæ. So.*, vol. 44, containing an article of his entitled "A hitherto unknown Original Print of the Great Plan of Bristol, by Jacobus Millerd, 1673." A reproduction of the plan shows the Friends meeting house near "Rose marie Lane," opened in 1670.

The present Rector of the parish, Rev. Jenkyn Edwards, has written a little volume, *Fenny Drayton, its History and Legends* (Nuneaton: "Chronicle" Press, price one shilling). One section is devoted to George Fox, whose work is sympathetically noticed; another to Nathaniel Stephens, minister at Drayton from 1639 to 1662.

Our Friend, J. Carroll Hayes, of West Chester, Pa., has written an interesting article on *The Delaware Curve, the Story of the Pennsylvania-Delaware Circular Boundary*. We read:

"The existence of Delaware as a separate State is an interesting anomaly. The Delaware-Maryland Peninsula is a unit in natural features as well as economically and yet we find it divided among three States. . . . This unique, curved boundary has only just been marked definitely and permanently upon the ground, after more than 220 years of uncertainty."

The many sided activities of Francis William Fox (1841-1918) are presented in attractive form in the biography written by J. E. G. De Montmorency, and published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, at 7s. 6d. net. The chapters headed Licensing Reform, Anti-Slavery, China Missions, and England and Germany are valuable histories in brief of these movements in addition to recitals of F. W. Fox's own activities in connection with them. The sections Early Days and An Amateur Ambassador refer especially to our Friend, but we regret the absence of some account of his spiritual experiences and connection with the Meetings and work of Friends. A chapter by some Friend dealing with this side of his life would have completed the picture. And yet his Quakerism crops up :

" He saw the good in everybody, even the most unlikely receptacles for goodness " (p. 3). " It was one of the extraordinary things of F. W. Fox's life that he always managed to penetrate in the most impossible or unlikely places, and like Daniel, came out alive, whether from the Foreign Offices of Europe or places like the private residence of Zobin Pasha in Cairo " (p. 43).

The first part of volume three of the *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* (Lindsey Press, 5, Essex Street, London, W.C.)[1] is received. The first article deals usefully with " Strata in the Formation of the Unitarian Church Tradition," a sketch of the up-building of the present Church—" the main stratum was laid down through the Ejection of 1662." There are sixteen pages of Notes and Queries and among Reviews there is a notice of " Tortola."

---

* The first issue to appear of a series of books, " Our Debt to Greece and Rome " (London : Harrap, 7½ by 4¾, 5s. net) is *Seneca the Philosopher*, by our Friend Richard Mott Gummere, head of the William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia. " The Times " Educational Supplement states that " it is a most inspiring book . . . within a few pages he has packed a surprising mass of information." The series is to run to about fifty volumes of some thirty thousand words each.

The Baptist Quarterly, October, 1923, has an article on " Prosecutions of Worcestershire Dissenters under the Stuarts " by the editor, Dr. W. T. Whitley, in which the names of many Friends appear.

Alfred Rudulph Justice, of Philadelphia, has compiled a fine genealogical work, entitled *Ancestry of Jeremy Clarke, of Rhode Island, and Dungan Genealogy*, with the short title " Clarke-Dungan " (Phila., Pa. : Franklin Printing Company, 12 by 8¾, pp. 538, with illustrations). The sources of information number 343 and include many Friends' records. There are references also to " The Journal."

[1] Hon. Secretary : Rev. W. H. Burgess, M.A., 4, Ladysmith Road, Plymouth.

* = not in **D**.

Jeremy Clarke (bapt. 1605, d. 1651) married, *circa* 1637, Frances (Latham) Dungan, and with her and her four children by William Dungan, he sailed about the same year for New England and became one of the founders of Newport, Rhode Island, and " President Regent," or Governor, of the Colony. At the first meeting of the settlers, held " 3.16.1638/9 ":

" It is agreed and ordered that the Plantation now begun, at the southwest end of the Island, shall be called Newport.

William Coddington, *Judge.*
Nicholas Easton.
John Coggeshall } *Elders.*
William Brenton }
John Clarke.
Jeremy Clarke.
Thomas Hazard.
Henry Bull."

The Friends' Meeting records of Newport comment thus on Jeremy Clarke's death :

" Jeremy Clarke, one of the first English Planters of Rhode Island, died at Newport in said Island, and was buried in the tomb that stands by the street on the water side, Newport, upon the —— day of Eleventh Month, 1651."

Jeremy had a son, Walter Clarke (1638-1714), who was Assistant Governor, Deputy Governor, and Governor of Rhode Island. See Camb. " Jnl." ii. 377. He married four times.

Mary Clarke, daughter of Jeremy, married John Cranston (1626-1680), who succeeded his brother-in-law as Governor. See Camb. " Jnl." ii. 377, 436.

In connection with the Dungan family we read that Deborah Dungan, daughter of William Dungan and of Deborah Dungan, *née* Wing, of Sandwich, Mass., and grand-daughter of Rev. Thomas Dungan (c. 1634-1687), the founder of the first Baptist Church in Pa., married Joseph Large, Junr., of Bucks County (1673-1746) See " The Friend " (Phila.), vol. 33 (1860), p. 36.

For a list of the Governors, etc., of Rhode Island, see page 90.

Elizabeth Doyle (1688-1784), daughter of Edmund and Rebecca (Dungan) Doyle, married in 1711, at Buckingham Meeting, Pa., Joseph Fell (1668-1748), son of John and Margaret Fell, of Langlands (not *Longlands*, as printed) in Uldale parish, Cumberland. See Camb. " Jnl." i. 291n, 420, 450 ; " F.P.T." Joseph would be a near relative of Christopher Fell (Camb. " Jnl." i. 291n, 450 ; ii. 326, 331ff). See " Genealogy of the Fell Family," by Sarah M. Fell, 1891. Elizabeth (Doyle) Fell was a Minister and " tradition says she was very beautiful."

In the fourth generation from Rev. Thomas Dungan we strike another Quaker strain.

Elizabeth Tomkins, Quaker (1768-1841), married, in 1788, Philip Syng Bunting (1763-1826). Philip " was brought up in the Episcopalian faith, but upon his marriage he became a Friend and attended the Northern District Meeting in Philadelphia." He was a grandson of

Philip Syng, Jr., (1703-1789). His daughter, Esther Syng Bunting (1795-1883), married, at Northern District Meeting in 1816, George Middleton Justice (1792-1862).

"George Middleton Justice was one of the leading hardware manufacturers in Philadelphia and filled a prominent place in the affairs of the City during a long and earnest life of usefulness. . . . Recognising the importance of what he himself had missed, he became active in forwarding the movement for a higher public education . . . He took a leading part in urging upon the City the advisability of establishing a public observatory. . . . He was keenly interested in scientific observations. . . . Besides finding time to follow his scientific studies he took an active part in the work of the Society of Friends, of which he was an Elder. He was deeply grieved over the separation of the Society, but felt called upon to unite with the Hicksite branch. His journal contains a very complete history of the causes leading up to the separation."

A reproduction from a daguerreotype of G. M. and E. S. Justice is shown in the book.

The eldest son of G. M. Justice, Alfred Bunting Justice (1817-1886), was brought up as a Friend but was disowned for marrying out of Meeting. "Like his father, he had a decided poetic taste." Alfred Rudulph Justice (b. 1857), son of Alfred B. Justice, is the compiler of this valuable work. He married Jessie Lewis in 1892, at the house of Enoch Lewis, West Philadelphia.

Members of the Justice family were educated at Haverford, Swarthmore and Bryn Mawr seats of learning.

The remaining section of Mr. Justice's volume deals with "Arthur Cooke, Gentleman, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, Provincial Councillor and first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court." It is suggested that Arthur Cooke (*c.* 1636-1699) was descended from Sir Edward Cooke or Coke (1552-1634), the celebrated lawyer. Arthur Cooke's parents are given as Edward and Elizabeth (Potter) Cooke. His second wife (married 1666) was Margaret (Yoakley) Hind (died 1712) and her brother was Michael Yoakley (1631-1708), the sea-captain who established the Drapers Almshouses, in Kent. See "The Journal," vol. 14 (1917), pp. 146ff. The will of Michael Yoakley, dated 30th October, 1707, is given in full.

Arthur Cooke was a Friend residing, in 1668, in New Gravel Lane, Ratcliff Highway, near London. About 1676, he emigrated and located at Providence, R.I. In 1681, he was elected a Deputy from Newport to the Rhode Island Assembly. Later he removed into Pennsylvania and became prominent in both state and Church. His immediate descendants are given.

There is also a reference (p. 517) to Edward Cooke to whom George Fell (*c.* 1639-1670) left £200, and a copy of the will of the latter appears. See "The Journal," vol. 8 (1911), pp. 2ff. George Fell's wife was Hannah Cooke by birth and widow of —— Potter. Her first husband was probably a relation, as Cookes and Potters inter-married, but his first name is yet to find.

The Problem of Armaments. A Book for every Citizen of every Country, by Arthur Guy Enock (London : Macmillian, pp. 199, 6s. net) ; also in French, German and Italian. This wonderful, concise and telling book has three parts—Armaments and their Causes—The Extent of the Problem—Arguments, Opinions and Steps towards Solution. Advance copies were received by the leader of each of the three political parties and each of them—Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald —quoted the book in the House of Commons.

" All of us, of whatever creed or faith, must now surely realise that economic, political and humanitarian considerations, important as they are, are little to be trusted, if God, the source of all inspiration and power for good, is left out or passed over " (p. 176).

Thomas Holme (*c.* 1624-1695), William Penn's surveyor-general, is the subject of an article by Henry S. Cowper, F.S.A., in the last issue of the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.*

Capt. Thomas Holme was a son of George Holme (1592-1630), of Waterhead, ph. of Hawkshead, Co. of Cumberland. He had served, apparently, in the army of the Parliament; the first definite record of him connects him with Ireland as a Quaker (" The Journal," vii.). The appointment which brought him notoriety was made in 1682, when he succeeded Capt. William Crispin as surveyor-general, of Pennsylvania.

NOTE.—The Crispin and Penn families were related. William Penn styles William Crispin " Cosen Crispin." See " Clarke—Dungan," by A. R. Justice, 1923, pp. 128ff.

Acknowledgments and appreciations have been received by the author from many who have received copies of *Tortola : a Quaker Experiment of Long Ago in the Tropics*, by Charles F. Jenkins.[2] Here are extracts :

" It is all new to me and thee is to be congratulated in preserving these interesting records in such a fine way." " The human interest is strong in the annals of this brief Quaker Movement with its sacrifice of lives and the losing fight against adverse conditions." " I am enjoying the trip to Tortola and refreshed by the zeal of those who did service there." " I have read every word of it with the greatest interest." " What seems to us a historical romance was to them a very stern reality and a great sacrifice." " How much one enjoys the delightful manner in which thy little volume is printed and set forth ! May our Quaker publication committees take notice." " I have heard the doggerel lines regarding Dr. Lettsom a little differently quoted. The story was that some wag pencilled the lines on a panel of Dr. Lettsom's coach standing in some London street." " It is indeed a pleasure to receive thy most interesting and attractively printed book on Tortola. I shall really value it and anticipate much pleasure in reading it, for I never

[2] Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, price 5s. post free.

knew anything about the island, except that Richard Humphreys came from there. This information I gained from the reports of Cheyney School. I shall be additionally interested since in glancing through the pages I see the names of John Estaugh, Elizabeth Haddon, etc., and I don't doubt I will find many other familiar names. It is interesting to learn of Dr. Thornton having drawn the plan of the Capitol at Washington. I had forgotten that, if I ever knew it. I envy thee thy literary ability—it is certainly a great gift and thee has used it well time after time." "Are tropical regions unfavorable to all religions or only to Quakerism ?" "It seems almost like a fairy tale, this account of Tortola of which I have known nothing whatever." "It has literary excellence, historical accuracy and a handsome typographical dress." "I have had much pleasure in reading it and have extracted several interesting quotations which I hope will be of service to the Oxford English Dictionary."

With the first number of volume 48 of *The Pennsylvania Magazine* has come a reproduction of "A Map of Some of the South and east bounds of Pennsylvania in America, being partly Inhabited." Sold by John Thornton at the Signe of England, Scotland and Ireland in the Minories, and by John Seller at his shop in Popes head Alley, in Cornhill, London. This map, of which a very few copies are known, ante-dates the maps and plans of Thomas Holme, dated 1683 and 1687. The reproduction is supplied with a note by Albert Cook Myers. Several places visited by George Fox on his American journey are named, as e.g., "World's End" a plantation mentioned in the MS. of the journey in the Bodleian Library (printed "Jnl. F.H.S.," vol. ix., see p. 9). A district between two creeks near the mouth of the Bush River is marked "Tho Thurston" (Camb. "Jnl." vol. ii. p. 444).

The Life of George Cadbury (1839-1922), by A. G. Gardiner, late of the "Daily News," is a most interesting and valuable record of a noble life (London: Cassell, 8¼ by 5¼, pp. 324, with ten illustrations, 10s. 6d. net).

The fourth volume of the publications of the Selly Oak Colleges is *China in the Family of Nations*, by Henry T. Hodgkin, now one of the secretaries of the National Christian Council of China (London: Allen and Unwin), 7¼ by 4½, pp. 267, 7s. 6d. net).

---

* "The Society of Friends, to name another instance, has been distinguished throughout its history for its contributions to applied Christianity. The first protest made by an American organisation against the curse of human slavery was made in 1688 by the Friends at Germantown; the first English petition of the same character was laid, in 1788, by the Quakers before the House of Commons; the causes of the Negro, the Indian, and of peace between nations, have found among the Friends

early and determined advocacy. Finally, the same small group of untiring philanthropists has won the gratitude of the world by its generous and judicious service of the afflicted populations of Europe since the world-war. Yet this philanthropic leadership has been attained by the most consistent and unwavering of mystics, whose sufficient authority is the immediate testimony of the Inner Light. The habitual inclination of the Society of Friends to quietism and pacifism seemed likely to arrest its progress, and leave it as in an eddy of the stream of thought in the modern world ; but the mystic's faith has found a new channel for itself, even through the desert of war, and has carried to thirsty multitudes, even of hostile nations, an abundant supply of the water of life."

From F. G. Peabody, *The Apostle Paul and the Modern World*, New York, 1923, pp. 183f.

---

* There is occasional mention of George Fox and the Society of Friends in *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion*, by Baron Friedrich von Hügel, LL.D., D.D. (London : Dent, 9 by 6, pp. xx+308, 15s. net). The writer was a Florentine by birth, but he has lived for years in England and has married into an English family. There is an interesting allusion to the historical and tangible background to the teaching of the Mystic :

" In spite of George Fox and many another noble, would-be Pure Interiorist—a simply invisible Church and Religion does not exist amongst men. Fox and his friends are steeped in images and convictions that have grown up amongst, that have been handed down by, concrete, historical men and concrete historical institutions and cultural acts " (p. 231).

" In vain do all mystics, as such, vividly feel their experience to be utterly without human antecedent connection. Behind St. Paul stands the Jewish synagogue and the earthly Jesus ; and behind George Fox stands the entire New Testament " (p. 293).

The references to Friends (not in Index), occur on pp. 15, 131, 238, 247, 256.

Recent Accessions to D

IN addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading " Friends and Current Literature," the following items have been added to D during the last few months :

In 1916, Prof. Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University, U.S.A., caused to be printed *Some Cursory Remarks, Made by James Birket in his Voyage to North America*, 1750-1751[1] from a manuscript presented to the University for publication. The editor states : " Of Birket nothing is known beyond what is stated in his itinerary," by which he doubtless

[1] Copy presented to D by C. F. Jenkins.

meant that further information was not *at hand*, for the Friends' Reference Library contains data relating to Birket in addition to that which has been included in C. F. Jenkins's recent book on Tortola.

This volume of seventy-four pages records the journey of James Birket, from Antigua, West Indies, July 26th, 1750, through several provinces of North America—New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and to his return to his island-home April 3rd, 1751, after a land journey of 1,120 miles. As an observant traveller he saw and recorded many items of interest, but we must refer only to notes of Quaker interest.

On September 2nd, " being first-day " he attended meeting at Haverhill, Mass., and on the 16th he was at Meeting in Boston. " One Quaker Meeting H° So Called." On the 23rd he reached Newport, R.I., where he wrote : " This day I was 'twice at Meeting which is very large ; the Meet^g^ house is also large and has two tier of Gallerys, And a Cupola on the top, but the friends in my Opinion are as Topping as their house, for I did not Imagine one half of the Congregation had been of that Society and I afterwards found they were not to be known by their Language dress, or behaviour Altho' there Seems to be a few w^n^ (Compair'd with the whole) that are very Examplary in every respect and an honour to their proffesion and the Society."

At Kingsbridge, N.Y., Birket dined at " one Stephensons, a Quaker who keeps one of the Best Eating houses we met with, we had a Bass fish taken out of the river by the door before our Eyes . . . " (p. 39). New York, " one meeting of Friends which is but small their Meeting house is of Brick which is neat, built about Two years ago " (p. 45). When in the Pennsylvania province he visited various Friends known by us to be Friends (and doubtless other Friends whose names are not familiar to us)—James Pemberton, Israel Pemberton Jr. ; William Logan, Esther White, John Smith, John Reynolls, Isaac Greenleaf ; on the 12th December, " we Breakfasted w^th^ Cha. Read and dined with Ebenezar Large where also dined Mary Weston fro London, Marg^t^ Bound from New York, and Peter Fearon, With Sundry others." On the 11th he attended the funeral of Reynier Tyson. On the 9th of February, 1751, he dined with John Pickering, Jr., of Tortola, and a few days later met " my old Acquaintance, Jonah Thompson," of England. At the close of the journey we have the following, *re* Philadelphia :

" There was 2 Friends Meeting Houses and another Building on Society hill said Fisher above told me there is now Four Meeting houses belonging to Friends w^ch^ Consist of 800 Families and which are Reckoned at 2700 Individuals."

There is a diary of Birket's for 1747-49, in Antigua, among the William Thornton papers in the Library of Congress.

There are references to Birket in the Journal of Mary Weston (ms. in **D**)[2], page 74.

[2] This Journal, a thick folio, should receive more attention than has yet been devoted to it. It contains much valuable information of Friends in two continents.

Obituary

RICHARD HINGSTON FOX (1853-1924)

We regret to announce the death, after an operation, of our president, Dr. Hingston Fox. Dr. Fox was always willing to place his varied knowledge at the disposal of our Society, and he had in prospect a presidential address which would, doubtless, have proved of much value and interest.

He wrote on various medical subjects and gave to the world an important monograph on Dr. John Fothergill, in 1919. In many directions his help will be much missed.

The Annual Meeting

By invitation of Westminster Friends the annual meeting was held at their meeting-house on Thursday, 8th November. About eighty members of the F.H.S. and interested friends were present. Charles Lawson Smith presided. After formal matters of business were dispatched, the chairman appealed for a wider support of the Historical Society. Dr. R. Hingston Fox was appointed president for 1923-4. After a very warm vote of thanks to Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, for his generosity in presenting a copy of the book on Tortola to each member of the Society, Edward Grubb delivered his presidential address, entitled: "The Evangelical Movement and its Impact on the Society of Friends."[1]

The Committee reported that, thanks to help received, there was a balance in hand of £17 2s. 7d.

Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia

Our companion society over the water is full of activity. It has now become merged into an older historical movement founded in 1873 and is in future to be known as the FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. The editor of the F.H.S. (London) is engaged in preparing, at the request of a Tercentenary Committee of the Association, a Supplement to his Cambridge edition of *The Journal of George Fox*, to consist of "The Short Journal of George Fox" and of his "Itinerary Journal (both now printed for the first time).

[1] This address appeared in the *F.Q.E.* in January, 1924. Copies are sent to members with this issue. See p. 101.

Friends Historical Society

President:

(the late) R. Hingston Fox, M.D.

Committee:

Augustus Diamond, B.A.
Robert H. Marsh, F.C.A.
Juliet E. Reckitt.
C. Ernest Naish.
Ernest E. Taylor.
A. Neave Brayshaw, B.A., LL.B.
Arthur J. Eddington.
Edward Grubb, M.A.
Ernest Warner.

Editor:

Norman Penney, F.S.A.

Auditor:

Augustus Diamond, B.A.

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ending 31. xii. 1922

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions	77	10	2
Sundry Sales	3	13	0
Advertisements	1	2	6
Interest on Deposit Account		10	5
Deficit	52	6	8
	£135	2	9

Payments.	£	s.	d.
Accumulated Deficits brought forward	12	9	9
Cost of printing Journal, vol. xix. ..	111	2	4
Postage	8	0	0
Stationery	3	5	6
Insurance		5	0
	£135	2	9

Examined and Found Correct, AUGUSTUS DIAMOND.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D—Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Camb. *Jnl.*—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

D.N.B.—*The Dictionary of National Biography.*

F.Q.E.—*Friends' Quarterly Examiner.*

Rancocas *John Woolman*—The Rancocas Edition of *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, edited by A. M. Gummere, Phila. and London, 1922.

TONES IN PREACHING (xix. 138).—In an article by Walter Robson, titled "Some Quaker Characteristics of Seventy Years Ago" (*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1922, pp. 51-61, we read:

"Almost all our preachers intoned their sermons—much as the late Friend, Anna Fox used to do—indeed it came to be looked upon as a mark of Divine unction, and to be cultivated rather than avoided. I well remember an American Minister telling us that when he first began to speak in meetings, some good Elders called on him to encourage him, and one of them added, 'If thou art faithful, dear young man, thou wilt learn the tune in time.' This was James Owen, and he had certainly learnt his lesson well!"

James Owen (1822-1871), from Iowa Y.M., was in Europe in 1869-1870. He travelled on the Continent with Isaac Sharp, Senr.

LYON TURNER MSS.—*The Baptist Quarterly* (vol. i., no. 8, Oct. 1923) informs that the many valuable MSS. of the late G. Lyon Turner have been presented by Mrs. Turner to Dr. Williams's Library.

FRIENDS AT COVENTRY, 1656.—The Diary of Robert Beake, Mayor of Coventry, 1655-6, which has recently been acquired by the Corporation of Coventry, contains this:

"19th November, 1656: 3 quakers for travelling on y^e^ Lords day were set in y^e^ Cage and it greived me y^t^ thos poore deluded people should undergoe punishment of such a nature."

BEARD'S HATTER SHOP (xviii. 113).—"Previous to 1860, the men wore two kinds of hats to Meeting. One was a plain black, high hat, with a broad, straight brim. These hats were generally purchased from John Suffrins, a hatter who was a Friend. The other style of hat was also a hat with broad, straight brim, but with a long nap or fur, light yellow in color. These hats came from North Carolina from the famous Beard's Hatter Shop. They were practically indestructible and lasted an ordinary man thirty or forty years. The well-authenticated story of a Friend living on a farm near Green's Fork who was partially bald. He insisted, greatly to the annoyance of his wife and family, on

wearing his hat all the time, indoors and out. It hung on the bedpost at night. In the morning when he rose, his first act was to put on his hat. Then he reached for his trousers and took a chew of tobacco. Then he put on his trousers and shoes and was ready for the day. When he died, his sons took the hat and buried it in a corn field; and for some years thereafter, every year the plough turned up portions of that hat."—From the life of Charles F. Coffin, of Indiana, 1923, p. 92.

RACHEL WILSON AND GEORGE WHITEFIELD (xix. 109).—In a recent issue (vol. xiv., p. 46) of the magazine, the *Wesley Hist. Soc.* prints this interview, and states that the year must have been 1765, between the arrival from America of Whitefield, on June 9 and a fortnight later when he arrived in London.

EARLY SETTLERS IN THE NEW WORLD.—A Friend writes: "I often wonder what has become of the great batch of letters which were sent to England by the early settlers describing their trials and experiences. If they had only been kept, what a storehouse it would be for Colonial information!"

LONG SERVICE (xx. 98).—Samuel Foulke (1718-1797) was clerk of Richland M.M., Bucks County, Pa., for about thirty-seven years (Comly, *Misc.* iv. 16; Rancocas *John Woolman*, p. 553, etc.).

Elijah Coffin (1798-1862) was Y.M. Clerk of Indiana Y.M. from 1827 to 1858 and his son, Charles F. (1823-1916) followed from 1858 to 1884.

LOTTERIES.—In a recent issue of *The Pa. Magazine* there is an article on "Lotteries in Pennsylvania Prior to 1833." We read:

"Many religious societies under one pretext or another resorted to lotteries as a means of securing funds. . . . Previous to 1833, 98 different church organisations in Pa. made use of the lottery. . . . Several religious bodies never resorted to the lottery, the most conspicuous of these were the Methodists and the Quakers. Throughout the entire period during which lotteries existed in the state they were consistently and decidedly opposed by the Quaker element of the population."

Books Wanted

(*For previous lists, see xix.* 94.)

Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, E.C.2, is desirous of securing copies of the following:

Life of William Penn, by Janney, Phila., 1851.

Works of Isaac Penington, 4th ed. Phila., 1861-63.

Index

Abbott, of Ireland, 91, 100.
Ackworth, 24, 85.
Adams, John Till, 50.
Alexander, Ann, 17.
Alexander, Charles M., 54.
Alexander, Isabella, 62, 63.
Allen, Helen, 32.
Allen, Mary, *aft.* Hanbury, 16.
Allen, Richard, 17.
Allen, William, 16.
Allen, William (Camb.), 32.
Allen, William C., 55.
Alsop, Samuel, 97.
America, 33-51, 95, 116-125.
American Presidents, 19.
Anabaptists, 56.
Andrews, C. M., *Remarks . . . James Birket*, 138.
anecdotes, 97, 100, 142.
Antigua, 139.
Arnett, Thomas, **61, 62.**
Ashby Family, 101.
Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 115.
Aston, Alexander, 32.
Athy, 48.
Atkins of Hartshill, 115.
Atlantic Crossings, 49, 50.
Australia, 128.
Awbreys, 108.

Backhouse, Anna, 23.
Backhouse, John, 63.
Backhouse, J. & H. C., 71.
Backhouse, Katherine, **62, 63.**
Baily, Joshua L., 57.
Baker, Hannah, *form.* Harlan, 50.
Baker, Mary, *aft.* Carrington, 122.
Bakewell, Thomas, 115.
Ballitore, 9, 38, 46, **48**, 116, 117.
Ballyglan, 3.
Baltimore, Y.M., 67.
baptisms, 18, 30, 51, **56**, 63.
Baptists, 4, 133, 134.
Barclay, David, 84, 86, 114, 123.
Barclay, Eliza, 23, 62, **63.**
Barclay, Priscilla, 80, 83, **86**, 87, 107.
Barclay, Robert (London), 63.
Barclay, R., *Apology*, 73.
Barclay, R. & E., 72, 84, **87**, 109.
Barclay, Robert L., 71.
Barcroft, Deborah, *aft.* Fuller, 48.
Barnard, Hannah, 51.
Barnes, Samuel, 86.
Barnet, 115.
Barringtons, The, 33.
Bath, 4, 94.
Beard's Hatter Shop, 142.
Bell of London, 82, 84-**86**, 106, 110, **114, 115.**
Bellers, John, 99.
Benson of Liverpool, 93, 94.
Beton, Widow, 32.
Bevan, Elizabeth, *aft.* Watson, 124.
Bevan, Hannah, *form.* Gurney and Springall, 73.
Bevan , Hannah M., 62.
Bevan, J. G., 71, 72, 84, 86, 102ff.
Bevan, M., *aft.* Lean, 63.
Birkbeck, Henry and Jane, 72.
Birket, James, 138.
Bispham, John, 50.
Blackley, Matthew, 32.
Blackley, Thomasin, 32.
Blain, Wm. and Elizabeth, 14, 18.
Blakey, William, 33.
Bland, Michael, 87.
Bland, Sarah, *form.* Lawrence and Gurney, 86, **87**, 105.
Bland, Thomas, 76, 82, 83, **86**, 87, 105.
Bludwick, J. and E., 93, **94.**
Boate, Ussher, 10.
Bone, Ann, 32.
Bonsall, Sarah, *form.* Harlan, 50.
Boston, Mass., 139.
Bound, Margaret, of N.Y., 139.
Bowles, Abigail, *form.* Craven, *aft.* Watson, 124.
Bowles, Abigail, *aft.* Watson, 124.
Bowman, Ebenezer, 17.
Boyd, Alexander, 3.
Boyd, Mary, *aft.* Paul, 3.
Boyse, Joseph, 32.
Brady family, 24.
Bragg, Margaret, 17, 63.
Braithwaite, Anna, 16.
Braithwaite, J. B., 62.
Braithwaite, Wm. C., 53, 56, 59.
Brenton, William, 134.
Brewin, of Cirencester, 101.
Bridgwater, 68.
Bridlington M.M., 32.
Brighton, 79, 80.
Bristol, 4, 9, 20, 93, 120, 122, 124.
Bristol, Plan of, 132.
Brown, William, 35, **47.**
Bryan, Tom, 54.
Buchanan, James, 19.
Buckingham, Pa., 67.
Bull, Henry, 134.
Bulletin F.H.S. Phila., 67.
Bunting, E. S., *aft.* Justice, 135.
Bunting, Philip Syng, 134.
Bury Hill, 87.
Buxton, 17.
Buxton, Mrs. C. R., 2.
Byrd, R., *form.* Young, 16.

Cadbury, E. M., *Memory*, 61.
Cadbury, George, 137.
Cambridge, 32.
Camphire, 2, 3, 10.
Candler, Elizabeth, 61.
Canham, Thomasin, 32.
Canons and Institutions, 96.
Cappagh, 2, 3, 11, 12.
Cappoquin, 3.
Card, Nathaniel, 126.
Carleton family, 33, 48, 50, 51, 116-125.
Carleton, Thomas, of U.S.A., 33-51, 116-125.
Carr, J. D., 70, 131.
Carr, T. W., 131.
Carrington, Thomas, 116, **122.**
Carroll of Ireland, 91.
Cash of Coventry, 115.
Cash of London, 61.
Cash, Mary, 13.
Castle Donnington, 115.
cave-dwellers, 59.
Chamly, —., 31.
Chandlee family, 34ff, 45, 47, 48, **51**, 116-118, 120.
Chapman, Hannah, *aft.* Gurney, 71.
Charlbury, 64.
Chesterfield, 115.
Cheyney family, 99.
China, 137.
Chorley, Phebe, 93, 94.
Churchman, John, 35, 47.
Churchman, Susanna, *aft.* Brown, 47.
Circular Y.M., 78, 86.
Clapton, 75, 85.
Clark, Dr. Dougan, **61, 63.**
Clark, Joan, *aft.* Rooke, 47.
Clark, John, 68.
Clark, Thomas, 32.
Clarke of R.I., 133-135.
Clarke, Jeremy, 133-135.
Clarke, John, 134.
Clarke, L., *Family Chronicles*, 86.
Clonmel, 5, 15, 17, 118.
Coats, John, 18.
Cocker, Ann, 32
Cockin, R. and E., 16, 63, 67.
Coddington, William, 134.
Coffin family, 132.
Coffin, Charles F., 125, 132, 142, 143.

Coffin, Elijah, 132, 143.
Coggeshall, Elizabeth, 14.
Coggeshall, John, 134.
Coke, Sir Edward, 135.
Cole, Joseph, 32.
Conrad, *see* Kunders.
Cook, Mary John, 16.
Cooke family, 135.
Cooke, Arthur, **135**.
Cooke, Hannah, *aft.* Potter and Fell, **135**.
Cooke, Joseph, 32.
Cookworthy, William, 54, 128.
Cooper, Joseph (N.J.), 98.
Cork, 3, 15-17, 39, 49, 88, 91, 120.
Cornwall, 28.
Coventry, 115, 142.
Cranston, John, 134.
Cranwell, John, 32.
Crawshawbooth, 54.
Crispin, Capt. William, 136.
Croft, Susan, 32.
Cromwell, Oliver, 58.
Crook, Ireland, 3.
Cropper, James, 17, 94.
Cropper, John, 27.
Cropper, Mary, 93, 94.
Crosfield, George, 94.
Crosfield, Margaret, *form.* Chorley, **94**.
Crotch, William, 5.
Cunard family, **69**.
Cunard, Sir Samuel, **23**.
Curtis, J. H., 69.
Curtis, Thomas, 56.

Darby, Deborah, 6, 50.
Darlington, 24, 62.
Darragh, Mary, *aft.* Eddy, 49.
Davis, Elizabeth, *aft.* Horne, 48.
Davis, Mary, *aft.* Merryweather, 124.
Davis, Samuel, 15.
Dear Memory, A, 61.
Deaves, Abraham, 97.
Delaware Curve, 132.
Dell of London, 62, 63.
Dent, Hannah, *aft.* Cooper, 98.
Desborough, Maj. Gen., 58.
Devonshire House, 56.
Dewsbury, William, 55.
Dickinson, John (Pa.), 95.
Dillwyn, G. and S., 50.
Dolobran, 56.
Doncaster, 24, 63, 67.
Douglas, J. H. and R. W., 62, 63.
Dow, Lorenzo, 99.
Doyle of Pa., 134.
Doyle, John, 90.
dress, 4, 19, 24, 114.
Drew, —., 15, 16.
drink, **62**, 126.
Dublin, 2, 13, 15, 18, 32, 35, 45, 47, 49, 96, 119.
Dudley, Elizabeth, 67.
Dudley, Mary, 5, 7, 67.
Dudley, Robert, 49.
Dungan family, 133f.
Dungarvan, 3.
Dunkards, 59.
Dunmore, 8, 10.

Earlham, 56, 63, 71.
Easton, Nicholas, 134.
Ecroyd, Ann, 16, 67.
Ecroyd, Henry, 67.
Eddy, James and Mary, 42-44, **49**.
Eddy, Thomas, **49**, 128.
Edmondson, Joan, 32.
Edmondson, Thomas, **32**.
education, 24, 85, 97, 115, 126.
Egg Harbor, 43.
Eliott, Daniel, 29.
emigration, 33, 49, 135.
Emlen, Joshua, 50.
Emlen, Samuel, 43, **50**.
Emlen, Saml., Junr., 50.
Enock, A. G., *Armaments*, 136.
Estaugh, Elizabeth, 98, 137.

Fardon, Thomas, 64.
Farrington, Abraham, 50.
Fearon, Peter, 139.
Fell (Cumb. and Pa.), 134.
Fell Family, 134.
Fell, Elizabeth, *form.* Doyle, 134.
Fell, George, 135.
Fennell of Ireland, 39.
Fenny Drayton, **132**.
Field, Suse, 32.
Fincham family, 101.
Fincher, John, 47.
fires, 53.
Firth, Thomas, **24**.
Fishers Folly, 56.
Fitzwalter family, **52**.
Follows family, 115.
Forsythe, D. H., 97.
Forster, Anna, 15.
Forster, Elizabeth, 67, 95.
Forster, Josiah, **32**, 73.
Forster, Sarah, 67.
Forster, William (Tottenham), 31, 67, 85, 86, 95.
Fothergill, Dr. John, **65**, 140.
Fothergill, Samuel, 46, 50, 94.
Foulke, Samuel, 143.
Foulke, Susanna, *aft.* Cunard, 23.
Fowler, Robert, 16, 17.
Fox, Anna F., 142.
Fox, Christopher and Mary, 96.
Fox, Edward Long, 97.
Fox, Francis W., 133.
Fox, George, 1, 28, 31, 55, 58, 60, 64, 96, 137.
Fox, G., *Short and Itinerary Journals*, 140.
Fox, George, grangerised, 58.
Fox, George, Story of, 53.
Fox, Margaret, *form.* Fell, 60, 96, 118, 123.
Fox, Mary, 21.
Fox, Dr. R. H., **140**,
Fox, Sylvanus and Mary, **17**, 63, 67, 92, **94**.
franked letter, 86.
Freame, John, 113.
Freemasons' Hall, **27**.
Friends' Fellowship Papers, 57.
F.H.S. Phila., 140.
Friends, Ancient estimates of, 142.
Friends, Modern estimates of, 13, 54, 58, 137, 138.
Fry, Elizabeth, 94, 114.
Fuller of Ireland, 48.
Fuller, Elizabeth, *aft.* Shackleton, **48**.
Fuller, Samuel, 32.
Fussell, Dr. B. and Dr. M., 126, 127.

Garrett, Joseph, 115.
Garrison, W. Ll., 62.
Gawthrop, Thomas, 42, **48**.
George IV., 69.
Germantown, 23, 54, **59**, **97**, 129, 130, 137.
Germany, 23, 123.
Gibraltar, 9.
Goff family, 12.
Goodwin, Thomas, 38, 41, 42 44, **48**.
Grace, Wilfrid, 60.
Grampound, 28.
grangerising, 58.
Green, Mercy, **20**.
Green, Priscilla, 19-23.
Green, R., *Water Baptism*, 56.
Greenleaf, Isaac, 139.
Green's Fork, 142.
Greer, Mina, *form.* Ussher, 12.
Greer, Thomas, 12.
Gregg, Lydia, *aft.* Carleton, 50.
Grellet, Stephen, 16.
Grubb, Edward, works, 53.
Grubb, E., *Evangelical Movement*, 140.
Grubb, Margaret, *form.* Shackleton, **47**, **48**, 118.
Grubb, John, 15.
Grubb, Samuel, 48, 118.
Grubb, Sarah, *form.* Lynes, 13, 17, 92.
Guardian, The (Calcutta), 57.
Gulson, Edward, 115.
Gummere, A. M., *John Woolman*, 55.
Gummere, Dr. F. B., 56.
Gummere, R. M., works, 133.
Gurney family, 71-87, 102-115.
Gurney, Edmund, 73, **84**.
Gurney, Henry, 4.
Gurney, Hy. Edmund, 3.
Gurney, John (Earlham), 56, 71, 102.
Gurney, Joseph, 71ff, 102ff.
Gurney, J. J., 23, 56, 62, 72, 85.
Gurney, Priscilla H., 15, 105, 108, **113**, 115.
Gurney, Rachel, 72.
Gurney, R. J., *aft.* Paul, 3, 4.
Gurney, Samuel, 56, 62.
Gurney, Samuel, 99.

Hacker, Col. F., 58.
Hackney, 77.
Haddon, Elizabeth, 137.
Haddonfield M. M., 98.
Haines, Reuben, 130.
Hall, David, 49.
Hallock, James C., 129.
Hambly, Loveday, 28, 29.

Hanbury family, 76, 86, 115.
Hanbury, Capel, 115.
Hanbury, Elizabeth, *form.* Gurney, 76.
Hanbury, Osgood, 115.
Harlan of Pa., 44, 49, **50**, 116, 125.
Harris of London, 61.
Harris, Elizabeth, *aft.* Johnson, 47.
Harrisburg (Pa.), 60.
Harrison, Sarah, 50.
Hartley, Thomas, 66, 67.
Hartshill, 115.
Harvey, Reuben, 88-90.
Harvey, T. E., *Aureoles*, 53.
Haskins, Jane, 46.
hat honour, 96.
hats, **142**.
Hatton, Susanna, *form.* Hudson, *aft.* Lightfoot, 38, **48**.
Haverhill, Mass., 139.
Hayes, J. C., *Delaware Curve*, 132.
Hayhurst family, 61.
Hayle, T. and L., 17.
Hazard, Thomas, 134.
Heath, Joseph, 115.
Hewes, Rebecca, *aft.* Fussell, 126.
Hewetson family, 11.
Hewetson, Margaret, *aft.* Ussher, 3.
Hewetson, Martha, *aft.* Ussher, 11, **12**.
Hewetson Memoirs, 4, 11.
Hicks, Willet, 67, **93**, **94**.
Hill, John, 85.
Hind, Margaret, *form.* Yoakley, *aft.* Cooke, 135.
Hinton, Charles, 21, **22**.
Hoag, L. M., 61.
Hoare, Samuel, 87.
Hobart (Tas.), 63.
Hodgkin, H. T., *China in Family of Nations*, 137.
Hodgkin, John, 62, 85.
Hodgkin, J. B., 55.
Hodgkin, M., *Diary*, 55.
Hodgkin, Ronald, 55.
Hodgkin, Thomas (Clapton), 75, **85**.
Hodgkin, T., *George Fox*, 58.
Hogstyend, 115.
Holdsworth, L. V., 55.
Holme, Thomas, **136**, 137.
Hoole, John, 87.
Hoole, Susanna, *form.* Smith, 87.
Hope of Amsterdam, 113.
Horne, Susanna, 14.
Horne, William, 38, **48**.
Hosack, Mary, *form.* Eddy, 49.
Hotham, Sir John, 58.
How, Briggins, 115.
Howell of Pa., 33.
Howell, Robert, 57.
Howland, G. and S., **61**, **62**.
Howland, Sylvia, *aft.* Wood, 131.
Hoyland, John S., 55.
Hoyland, Margaret, 14, 16-18.
Hoyland, Tabitha, *aft.* Middleton, 115.
Hudson, Elizabeth, *aft.* Morris, **34**, 35, 37, **46**.
Hudson, Susanna, *aft.* Hatton and Lightfoot, **48**.
Hügel, Baron F. von, *Essays*, 138.
Humphreys, Richard, 137.
Hunger Hill, 58.
Hunt, John, 49.
Hunt, William, 43, 46, **49**, 51.
Hyatt, A. and S., **61**, **63**.

India, 57.
Indiana, 125, **127**.
infant mortality, 10, 47.
Insall, Hester, *aft.* Fardon, **64**.
inventions, 54, 68, 126ff.
Ipswich, 114.
Ireland, 2ff, 61, 88-91, 100, 115-125.
Islington, 115.

Jenkins, A. A., 61, 62.
Jenkins, C. Francis, 131.
Jenkins, Mehetabel, 50.
Jobson, Joan, 32.
Johnson, Paul, 36, **47**.
Jones, G. and A., 16, 67.
Jones, Rebecca, 50, 123, 124.
Jones, R. M., works, 1, 52, 55.
Jones, Capt. William, 56.
Jordan, Richard, 49.
Judge, Hugh, 33.
Justice of Pa., 135.
Justice, A. R., *Clarke-Dungan*, 133.
Justice, George M., 127, **135**.

Kaye, Benjamin, 101.
Keith, G., *Magick*, 59.
Kendal, 48.
Kennet, Pa., 33ff, 116, 117. 120.
Keswick, Norwich, 71, 104, 106, 108.
Kett family, 71, 82, 84, 87, 102, 105, **113**, **114**.
Kiek, Winifred, *form.* Jackson, 128.
Kilham, Hannah, 17.
Kilts, 99.
Kingsbridge, N.Y., 139.
Kirk, Elisha, 33.
Kirkham, John, 15.
Kite, Susanna S., 97.
Kunders, Thones, 23, 54, 59.

Lakenham Grove, 71.
Lamb, C., *Quakers' Meeting*, 56.
Landscape, 9.
Large, Deborah, *form.* Dungan, 134.
Large, Ebenezer, 139.
Large, Joseph, 134.
Law, William, 66.
Lawes, James, 129.
Lazy Hill, 96.
Leadbeater, Mary, *form.* Shackleton, **49**, 121, 124.
Leadbeater, William, 49.
Lean, William S., 62, **63**.
Leeds, Granville, 56.
Letchworth, Robert, 32.
Lettsom, Dr. J. C., 127, 136.
Lewes, 79, 80.
Lewis, Esther, 127.
Lightfoot, Michael, 34.
Lightfoot, Susanna, *form.* Hudson and Hatton, 39, 40, 44, 46, **48**.
Lightfoot, Thomas, 39, 40, 48.
Lindoe, John, 105, 114.
Lippincott, H. M., *Germantown*, 97.
Liskeard, 29.
literature, 52-62, 114, 132-149.
Livermore, Harriet, 59.
Liverpool, 13, 93.
Lloyd, of Phila., 57.
Lloyd, Charles, 56.
Lloyd, Elizabeth, *aft.* Howell, **57**.
Lloyd, Hannah, *aft.* Neall, **57**.
Logan family, 50, 55.
Logan, William, 139.
London Y.M., 1783, 115.
London Y.M. (Women), 1826, 92-94.
long service, 98, 143.
lotteries, 143.
Lovell Edith, [121], **124**.
Lower, Dr. Richard, 28.
Lower, T. and M., 28.
Lubbock, P., *Earlham*, 56, 85.
Lucas family, 61, 62.
Lucas, Samuel H., 62, 63.
Lynch, of Va., 68.
Lyon Turner MSS., 142.

McFisher, Jaber, 113.
Manchester, 48, 128.
Margetson, John, 77.
marriage, 29, 64.
Marshall, Charles, 96.
Martinique, 9.
Maryland, 39, 98, 126, 132, 139.
Mason, Mrs., *form.* Heath, 130.
May, Charles, 128.
Mellor, Lydia, *aft.* Shackleton, 50, 118, **123**.
Mendenhall, Lydia, *form.* Carleton, 50.
Mennonites, 59.
Merion Meeting House, 59.
Middleton, Benjamin, 115.
Middleton, Hannah, *aft.* Gurney, 71, 85.
Middleton, Tabitha, *form.* Hoyland, 115.
Miller, Mark, 49.
Millerd, J., *Plan of Bristol*, 132.
Monck, Gen. George, 58, 61.
Moneash, 17.
Moore, Sarah, *aft.* Pennington, 66.
Moore, William (Md.), 39.
Morris, Anthony, 37, 46.
Morris, Deborah, 49.
Morris, Lydia, *aft.* Fussell, 126.
Morris, Sarah, 43, **49**.
Mounsey, Thomas, 26.
Mount Edgcumbe, Lord and Lady, 20-23, 28.
Mountmellick, 33.

Mudd, Thomas and Ann, **64.**
Muggleton, Lodovic, 58.
Murphy, Thomas, 70.
Murray, Lindley, 123, 129.
Musgrave, Elizabeth, *aft.* Ussher, 3.
Myers, A. C., 137.

Nash, George, 32.
Nayler, James, 58, 73.
Neale, Samuel, 43, 45, 47, **49.**
Neall, Hannah Ll., 58.
New England, 134, 139.
New Garden (Pa.), 122, **123**
New Jersey, 43, 49, 50, 86, 97, 129.
New Lights (Ireland), 51.
New Ross, 9.
New York, 128, 129, **139.**
New Zealand, 130.
Newbury, Mark, 129.
Newcastle, 17.
Newmarket, 77.
Newnham, G——., 76, 77.
Newport (R.I.), 134f, **139.**
Nicholas, Mary, 98.
Nicholson, Mary, 19.
Norfolk, 101.
North Carolina, 37, 49, 51, 98, 132, 142.
Norwich, 71ff, 102ff.
Nova Scotia, 23, 69.

Oakley, V., *Holy Experiment*, 60.
Oaths, 11.
obituary, 140.
O'Brien, Mrs. Vere, 95.
Owen, James, **142.**
Owen, John, 79.
Owen, Mary, 14.
Oxborough, 75.
Oxley, Joseph, 84, **109.**
Oxley, Joseph, 73, **84.**

Pagitt, E., *Heresiography*, 59.
Parks, Richard, 37, 47.
Passmore, Hannah, *form.* Carleton, 50, 120.
Passmore, William, 120.
Pastorius, F. D., 23, 59.
Paul family, 2, 3.
Payne, John, 66, 67.
Payton, Catharine, *aft.* Phillips, 50.
Peabody, F. G., *Apostle Paul*, 138.
peace, 60, 69, 136, 137.
Peace, John, 32.
Pease, Edward, 21.
Pease, John, 27.
Pease, Joseph, Senr., 27.
Pease, Joseph and Emma, 72.
Peisley, Mary, *aft.* Neale, 49, 50.
Pemberton family, 123.
Pemberton, Israel, Junr., 139.
Pemberton, James, 139.
Pemberton, John, 119 **123.**
Penington, Isaac, 64, 73.
Penn, William, 52, 60, 64, 136.
Penney, Harrison, 27.
Pennington, Lady, 65, **66**, 67.
Pennsylvania, 99, **122**, 133-136, 139, 143.
Pennsylvania, Map of, 137.
Philadelphia, 70, 95, 97, 126, 127, **139.**
Philadelphia Hose Co., 53.
Phillips, "Dick," 110.
Pickering, John, Junr., 139.
Piers Plowman Histories, 54.
Piety Promoted, 73.
Pike, Joseph, 18.
Pim, John, 15, 18.
Plumstead, Mary, *aft.* Bevan, 73.
Plymouth, 20.
Pompey the Little, 106, **114.**
Potter family, 135.
Powel, Deborah, *aft.* Emlen, 50.
Preston, Dr. Anna, 127.
Pretender, Young, 101.
Price, Hannah C., 20.
Prideaux, Charles, 20.
Procter, Joseph, 78, **86.**

Quaker Methodists, **99.**

Rancocas, 55, 56.
Rand, Joseph, 123.
Read, Charles (Pa.), 139.
redemptioners, 48.
Revoult, John, 82, 86.
Reynolds, James, 50.
Reynolls, John, 139.
Rhode Island, 133-135.
Richardson, Josiah, **62, 63.**
Richardson, Lewis F., 70.
Rickmansworth, 64.
Ridgway, Jane, 18.
Ridgway, Joshua, 124.
Ridgway, Mary, *form.* Sparkes, 6, 50, 121, **124.**
Ridgway, Rebecca, 17.
Rigge, Alice, 48.
Roberts of Pa., 33.
Roberts, Earl, 11.
Roberts, Hannah, *form.* Howell, *aft.* Carleton, 33.
Roberts, Martha, *form.* Ussher, 11.
Roberts, Mary, 125
Robinson, Jane, *aft.* Chandlee, 51.
Robson, Elizabeth, 16, 94.
Robson, William, 25.
Rooke, George, 39, **47.**
Rooke, Rachel, *aft.* Carleton, 46.
Ross, Thomas, 50, 119, **123.**
Rotch family, 50.
Rothschild, C. de, 99.
Routh, Martha, 50.
Rowe, Richard, 10.
Royal Society, 87, 128.
Russell, E., *Parables*, 53.

Saffron Walden, 19.
St. Albans, 115.
St. Austell, **28.**
Salter, Dr. and Ada, 69, 131.
Sams family, 24, 27.
Sams, Joseph, **24.**
Sanders, George, 14.
Sanderson, Mary, *aft.* Fox, 67, 94.
Sands, David, 8.
Savery, William, 6, 8, 50.
Scarnell, Hannah, *aft.* Lean, 63,
Scattergood, Thomas, 9.
Schimmelpenninck, M. A., 114
Scotland, 67, 99, 119.
Scott, John (Amwell), 87.
Sears, Huldah, 16, 67.
Seething, 87.
Sewel, William, 58.
Shackleton of Ireland, 48, 49, 51, 116-125.
Shackleton, Abraham (1st), 49.
Shackleton, Abraham (2nd), 50, 118, 123.
Shackleton, Richard, 38, **48,** 116.
Sharp, Isaac, Senr., 100, 142.
Sharpless, Isaac (Pa.), 56.
Sheffield, 115.
Sherlock, R., *Quakers Wilde Questions*, 59.
Shillitoe, Thomas, 13.
Shipley, John, 18.
Shipley, Murray and Caroline, 62, 63.
Skelton, Mary, *form.* Carleton, 50.
slavery, 59, 60, 137.
Smallman, Deborah, *aft.* Watson, 124.
Smith of Essex, 87.
Smith, Elizabeth, 32.
Smith, Henry F., 25.
Smith, John (Pa.), 139.
Smith, John (Phila.), 70.
Smith, Martha, 93, 94.
Sparkes of Exeter, 124.
Sparrow, Joseph, [121], **124.**
Sparrow, Mary, 32.
Spavold, Samuel, 35, 47, 123.
Speakman, Phebe, 50.
Spence, Malcolm, 56.
Springall of Norfolk, 73, 76, 84, **86, 87,** 105.
Stanton (Luton) MSS., 60.
Stenton, 55.
Stephens, Nathaniel, 132.
Stephenson, —., of N.Y., 139.
Stephenson, Hannah, 5.
Stephenson, Isaac, 67.
Stephenson, Sarah, 73.
Steven, Reuben, 32.
Storer, John, 50.
Story, Thomas, 55.
Strangman family, **12.**
Streypers family, 23.
Sturge, Joseph, 69.
Suffolk, 101.
Suffrins, John, 142.
Swanton, Elizabeth, *aft.* Gurney, 71.
Swarthmoor, **31,** 58, 60.
Swarthmore MSS., 60.
Syng, Philip, Junr., 135.

Talbot, Sarah, 50.
Taylor family, 61-63.
Taylor, Eliza, *aft.* Chandlee, 51.
Taylor, John (London), 61.
Taylor, Joseph (India), 57.
Taylor, Joseph, 51.
Taylor, Mary Jane, 61.

Taylor, Rebecca N., 55.
Taylor, Sarah, 48.
Tennet, Sarah, 17.
Thirkbeck MSS., 60.
Thomas, Allen C., 56.
Thomas, Richard H., 55.
Thompson of Ireland, 36, 45, **47**, 122.
Thompson, Jonah, 139.
Thompson, Thomas, 26.
Thompson, William, 94.
Thomson, Judith, 32.
Thornbrough, Thomas, 46, **51**.
Thornton, Dr. William, 128, 137, 139.
Thurston, Thomas, 137.
tobacco, 56.
Tomkins, Elizabeth, *aft.* Bunting, 134.
tones in preaching, 142.
Tortola, 1, 128, 133, **136**, 139.
Tottenham, 67, 85, 114, 129.
Towcester, 115.
Treffry, Joshua, **22**, 29, 30.
Tregongeeves, 28.
Tuke, Charlotte M., *aft.* Taylor, 62.
Tuke, Elizabeth H., *aft.* Taylor, 63.
Tullylagan, 12.
Tunbridge, 79.
Tyson Family, 52.
Tyson, Dr. James, **52**, 69.
Tyson, Reynier, 139.
Tyson, Reynier, 52, 54.

Underground, R. R., 126.
Unitarian Historical Society, 133.
Ussher family, 2-18.

Veale family, 30.
Virginia, 16, 98.

Wakefield, Edward and Priscilla, 85, 105, 106, **114**, 129.
Walker, George W., 63.
Walton, Mary, *aft.* Carrington, 122.
Walton, Susanna, *form.* Harlan, 50.
Wandsworth, 85.
Warrington, 94.
Washington (D.C.), 128, 137.
Waterford, 2ff.
Watson, Jane, 50, 121, **124**.
Watson, John F., 55.
Watson, Mary, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 17, 18.
Watson, Samuel, 124.
Watson, Solomon, 120, **124**.
Watson, Susanna, *aft.* Carleton, 33.
Watson, Sir William, 113.
Webb, Thos. Hy., 51.
Welcome, ship, **52**, 60.
Wellingborough, 115.
Wellington (Som.), 17, 24.
Welsh, 56.
Wensleydale, 98.
Wesley, John, 125.
West, Benjamin, 96.
West Indies, 97, 139.
West, J. Walter, 58.
Weston, Mary, *Journal*, 139.
Whitby, 71.
White, Benjamin, 15.
White, Esther, 139.
"Whiteboys," 11.
Whitefield, George, 143.
Whittaker, Miss, 105.
Whittier, John G., 55, **57**.
Whitwell, Thomas, 129.
Wigginton, 18.
Wigham, John, 13, 50.
Wilkinson, Margaret, *aft.* Shackleton, 49.
Willis, Robert, 43, **49**, **50** 78, **86**.
Wilson, Rachel, 143.
Wilson, William (Barnsley), 128.
Wing, Deborah, *aft.* Dungan, 134.
Withy, George, **122**.
Wooburn, 115.
Wood, Benjamin, 26.
Wood, Jethro, 131.
Woodbrooke, 54.
Woodrow, John, 106, 114.
Woods, Mary, 32.
Woolman, John, 55.
Woolman, John, 43, **50**, 56, 60, 96.
Worcestershire, 133.
Workhouse, Friends', 125.
Wright, John, 32.
Wright, Patience, *form.* Lovell, **95**.
Wright, Robert, 82, **86**, 104.

Yarm, 86.
Yarmouth, 77, 81, 105.
Yarnall, Mordecai, 50.
Yarnall, Peter, **97**.
Yarnall, Stanley R., 97.
Yates, Joan, 32.
Yoakley, Michael, 135.
York, 17, 67.
Youghal, 6, 15, 18, 100.
Young, Rebecca, *aft.* Byrd, 6, 50.
Young Dr. Thomas, 130.

HONOUR FOR THE EDITOR.—At the Commencement Exercises of Haverford College, Pa., on the 13th of June, 1924, the degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) was conferred upon Norman Penney, "Librarian of the London Library of Friends, who, having for a long period, with much erudition, searched out the historical documents of the Society of Friends, and with the utmost care published its records, was in this 300th year of our Founder held worthy of special praise. . . ." (Translated from the original Latin of the diploma.)

Passed for press, July, 1924.

F R

Price for this issue 3/-;
for the year, 5/- ($1.25)

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE LIBRARY OF THE
AUG 19 1924
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

VOLUME TWENTY
NUMBERS THREE AND FOUR
1923

London
THE FRIENDS' BOOKSHOP
140 BISHOPSGATE, E.C.2

American Agents
FRIENDS' BOOK & TRACT COMMITTEE
144 East 20th Street, New York, N.Y.
GRACE W. BLAIR, Media, Pa.

CONTENTS OF NUMBERS THREE AND FOUR.

	Page
Joseph Gurney to Joseph Gurney Bevan (concluded)	102
On the Way to London Y.M. 1783	115
Hands Across the Sea (concluded)	116
Calorics in Early Indiana	125
John Wesley and Friends' Workhouse	125
Leading the Way (continued)	126
Friends and Current Literature	132
Recent Accessions to D	138
Obituary—Dr. R. H. Fox	140
The Annual Meeting	140
Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia	140
Officers and Accounts for the Year 1922	141
Notes and Queries: Tones in Preaching—Lyon Turner MSS—Friends at Coventry, 1656—Beard's Hatter Shop—Rachel Wilson and George Whitefield—Early Settlers in the New World—Long Service—Lotteries	142
Books Wanted	143
Index	144
Honour for the Editor	148

FROM THE DEEP OF THE SEA

BEING THE DIARY OF THE LATE CHARLES EDWARD SMITH

M.R.C.S., Surgeon of the Whale-ship *Diana* of Hull

EDITED BY CHARLES EDWARD SMITH HARRIS,
M.B., CH.B., Surgeon, Cunard Steamship Company

Containing 2 maps and a frontispiece representing the *Diana* when she was temporarily abandoned in the ice (see above).

Demy 8vo., cloth PRICE **10/6** NET (*By post*, 11/6)

Published by A. & C. BLACK, LTD., 4, 5 & 6, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

FROM THE DEEP OF THE SEA

Being the Diary of the late CHARLES EDWARD SMITH, M.R.C.S., Surgeon of the Whale-ship *Diana*, of Hull.

Edited by his Son, CHARLES EDWARD SMITH HARRIS, M.B., Ch.B.

Demy 8vo., cloth PRICE **10/6** NET (*By post*, 11/6)

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Dr. Smith has "a tale to tell" such as few Arctic adventurers have lived to set down, and he made each entry at the time of the happening and often in the very shadow of death. To this fact is attributed the rare humanity of this striking book.

The old whaling days were crowded with disasters and perils, but hardly any of the men who went whaling in the early years of the nineteenth century wrote accounts of their adventures. The wonderful stories are lost for ever. This book, then, is unique. From the first day out Dr. Smith kept the diary which has lain unpublished these many years.

No man will read it without paying tribute of homage and no boy without a tug at his heart-strings.

SOME PRESS OPINIONS

". . . The Surgeon's simple diary repeats, on its humbler scale, the story that is to be read in a Scott or Shackleton. . . . Even when the ship broke out of the ice, she was so hampered by the masses of ice frozen solid to her stern and keel as to be almost unmanageable. There were weeks, almost months, in which there was scarcely a day but the ship seemed certain to be broken in pieces by the grinding ice or to founder out of hand. . . . Captains courageous, worthy to be remembered beside those who fought for the greater prizes."—*Manchester Guardian.*

". . . Apart from the story of the ship and her crew, the volume gains in fascination from the 'yarns' which the old hands told in the long night watches and which Dr. Smith has set down in their own language. They contain a wealth of sealing and whaling lore, and also some grim narratives of the disaster and death which is the toll of the Arctic. . . . The story is full of such glimpses of the brave days of whaling and of striking word-pictures of the great ice solitudes."—*Lloyds List.*

". . . a saga of the sea charged with a grandeur of heroism and scenic terror equalled only in Scandinavian saga and Greek tragedy. Arctic exploration has long had its homeric histories; but not till now has the perilous enterprise of the whaler provided an epic narrative of personal experience assured of a place as a classic. . . . In this story, told so modestly by the heroic doctor, there are things so terrible, so tender, so suffused with the divinity that is inherent in the roughest commonalities of human nature that the reader is at times almost impelled to stand up to receive their tremendous import and kneel under the benediction of their spiritual beauty. It may seem strange to say it, but this saga of the sea is one of the most impressive and persuasive of Christian apologetics."—*Dundee Advertiser.*

"No more moving record of hardship and heroism has ever been disclosed . . . one of the finest stories ever written, in its tale of thrilling and terrible adventures and in the rare humanity of the author."—*Daily Mail.*

". . . a first-class wonder story . . . will take its place as a graphic chronicle of stirring days. . . . A magnificient story, well told, and an epic of British daring and endurance."—*Western Morning News.*

[*continued on page 4.*

Published by A. & C. BLACK, LTD., 4, 5 & 6, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W. 1

SPECIMEN PAGE

Shortly after midnight the ice again closed upon us. The mate ran down into the cabin to arouse the others. There was no occasion to do that, for the horrid crashing of the ship's timbers caused the other officers to spring up instantly. The mate then ran forward and shouted down the hatchway: "All hands ahoy! SHE'S GONE THIS TIME!"

Our poor fellows rushed on deck. The scene was indescribable. The ship rattled and crashed as though every timber in her was being split into firewood, writhing, jerking, starting suddenly, quivering through her whole frame, as though she *felt* the tortures to which she was being subjected. The decks were working up and down under the awful pressure until it was dangerous to stand upon them; we expected them to fly open and trap our feet.

The men were ordered first to get their clothes' bags and bedding upon the ice. Up they came—chests, bags, mattresses, bedding—pell-mell over the bows, whilst other men dragged and carried them further upon the pack. The harpooners were busy sending the provisions over the gangway, the casks being pitched upon the ice, from which they rebounded heavily, whilst groups of men seized them and rolled them away to the neighbourhood of a large sail. This had been spread upon the snow, and on it were laid our beds and other personal effects.

This exciting work was carried on by the lurid light of two lanterns at the gangway, with the ship crashing so loudly that 'twas difficult to hear the voices on deck or the shouting of the officers. The imminent peril to which those who remained on board to assist in saving provisions were exposed, the dark outlines of the men struggling with the heavy casks as they rolled them over the rugged and snowy surface of the pack, the terrible energy displayed by the officers, some of them deep down in the hold snatching casks of provisions from the wreck before the ice came clean through her—all these, contrasted with the deep stillness of the night, made a very striking scene.

The boats were dragged further away from the dangerous neighbourhood of the ship, and were filled with bags, fuel, rifles, ammunition, kettles and all sorts of articles, and then covered over with tarpaulins frozen hard and stiff.

Published by A. & C. BLACK, LTD., 4, 5 & 6, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

FROM THE DEEP OF THE SEA—BEING THE DIARY OF THE LATE CHARLES EDWARD SMITH, M.R.C.S., SURGEON OF THE WHALE-SHIP *DIANA* OF HULL.

Edited by his Son, CHARLES EDWARD SMITH HARRIS, M.B., Ch.B.

Demy 8vo., cloth PRICE **10/6** NET (*By post*, 11/6)

SOME PRESS OPINIONS—(*continued*)

"... a thrilling book.... A more thrilling yarn was never spun by any romancer. Thrill follows on thrill as the days drag by, and the reader stands amazed that human beings could endure such perils and yet survive."—*Norwich Mercury.*

"This book ... is unique. Running as a thread of gold through the long tale of suffering is the unassuming heroism of the chief actor in the drama, Surgeon Smith —a heroism that went far to sustain hope and courage in the survivors, and enabled them to baffle all their troubles. Little wonder that, upon his return, Smith's services were publicly recognised, and that for all time he came to be known in his profession as Diana Smith. Of such stuff were Britons in those days."—*Lowestoft Journal.*

"... an undertaking ... that will give pleasure to a large class of readers not confined to seafaring circles."—*Aberdeen Free Press.*

"Dr. Smith's account of those long months of suffering is eloquent in its straightforward simplicity. But there is one circumstance which he passes over, and that is the splendid part which he himself played.... His son has done well to publish a narrative which, though more than fifty years old, has lost nothing of its interest and pathos."—*Glasgow Herald.*

"Here we have a real life story of extraordinary human interest.... This is real 'live' stuff that deserves to be handed down with the other diaries of Arctic Explorers."—*Aberdeen Daily Journal.*

CONTENTS

CHAPTER
PREFACE, BY C. E. S. HARRIS
I. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DIARY
II. STORM AND DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE SEALING
III. LERWICK AND A FRESH START
IV. DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE WHALING
V. SEARCHING FOR A WAY OUT
VI. LAST DESPERATE EFFORTS TO ESCAPE
VII. BESET IN THE ICE
VIII. DRIFTING
IX. THE PERILS OF THE ICE-PACK
X. THE "DIANA" ABANDONED FOR A TIME
XI. DEATH OF CAPTAIN GRAVILL
XII. FIRST APPEARANCE OF SCURVY
XIII. SUFFERING FROM THE INTENSE COLD
XIV. COLD, STARVATION, DISEASE, AND DEATH
XV. ESCAPE FROM FROBISHER BAY
XVI. DRIFTING SOUTH
CHAPTER
XVII. FIGHTING A WAY THROUGH THE PACK
XVIII. THE GALE AMID THE ICE
XIX. THE FINAL STRUGGLE
XX. THE RACE WITH DEATH
THE DAVIS STRAITS WHALE-FISHING FLEET, 1866
THE "DIANA'S" OFFICERS AND CREW
GLOSSARY OF WORDS, TERMS, ETC.
APPENDICES:
I. KILLING WHALES FOR WHALEBONE ONLY
I (A). THE EXETER SOUND SETTLEMENT
II. THE FORMER PLENITUDE OF WHALES
III. THE STRENGTH OF WHALES
IV. THE "DIANA" RELICS AT HULL
V. DR. SMITH'S DEATH IN 1879
INDEX

Published by A. & C. BLACK, LTD., 4, 5 & 6, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

Printed in Great Britain by Billing & Sons, Ltd., Guildford and Esher.

TERCENTENARY EDITION
OF
FOX'S JOURNAL.

Prepared and Edited by NORMAN PENNEY, with an Introduction by RUFUS M. JONES, and Reproductions from Etchings by ROBERT SPENCE. **5/-** net.

SOME PRESS OPINIONS.

"It is admirably lucid and vivid, written by a man not only intensely in earnest but with the gift of conveying his remarkable qualities to his reader. A remarkable production for its modest price."—*Times Lit. Supp.*

"With the story of his 'blessed' meetings, his travels and his imprisonments constantly repeating itself in simple language, his pages fascinate the reader hardly less than Wesley's."—*Observer.*

"You can dip into the Journal anywhere and find yourself reading on, for there is a spirit of reality in it and of human interest which lays hold of the mind and does not leave the heart untouched."—*Westminster Gazette.*

"The book is one that should be in the library of every Christian home, and in every church or school institute."—*Sheffield Independent.*

Published by

J. M. DENT & SONS LTD.,

ALDINE HOUSE, BEDFORD STREET, LONDON, W.C.2.

Family Histories Private Memoirs

WE have frequently been asked to undertake the printing and binding of Family Histories and Private Memoirs. With a Bookwork Staff and Plant organised to cope with the requirements of leading London Publishing Houses we have been able to give every satisfaction to those who have entrusted us with this class of book.

The Books mentioned below are a few among many that have passed through our Press.

RACHEL GURNEY OF THE GROVE. By Sir Alfred Pease, Bt. ROBERT SPENCE WATSON. By Percy Corder. ROBERT BARCLAY. By M. Christabel Cadbury. FREDERICK ANDREWS OF ACKWORTH. By I. Henry Wallis. MY ANCESTORS. By Norman Penney. ELIZABETH FRY. By G. King Lewis. MARGARET MACDONALD. By J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. THE HISTORY OF THE BEVAN FAMILY. BERNARD BARTON. By E. V. Lucas. THE DIARIES OF EDWARD PEASE. JOHN WILHELM ROWNTREE.

Editorial assistance and advice are given where required.

Research work and the preparation of Indexes arranged for.

We invite your enquiries.

The Sign of The Invicta Press

HEADLEY BROTHERS

The Invicta Press · ASHFORD · Kent

Established 1882

London Office: 18 Devonshire Street · Bishopsgate E.C.2

HEADLEY BROTHERS,
18 DEVONSHIRE ST.,
BISHOPSGATE, E.C.2;
AND ASHFORD, KENT

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
3 0112 110091011